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MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA

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D. Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra
Iuan de Iaurigui Pinxit. año 1600

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Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de

MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA

A MEMOIR BY

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TO

R. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC

IN RECOGNITION OF HIS EMINENT SERVICES
TO LEARNING AND IN MEMORY OF
A TWENTY YEARS' FRIENDSHIP

PREFACE

While Cervantes was still alive, a narrative of his experiences as a slave at Algiers was compiled by Diego de Haedo, Archbishop of Palermo, whose *Topographia, e historia general de Argel* was completed by the end of 1604. The Archbishop died on July 5, 1608, and four years later his book appeared under the editorship of his nephew and namesake. Over a century passed before any consecutive account of Cervantes's life was published. Little anecdotes, mostly apocryphal, were invented about him, and were circulated in France and England respectively by such writers as Rapin and Motteux. But it was not till 1737–8 that any serious attempt was made to reconstruct Cervantes's biography. This preliminary essay by Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, the most prominent Spanish scholar of his time, will be found in the prolegomena to the London reprint of *Don Quixote* issued by Jacob Tonson: naturally it contains much conjectural matter and some erroneous statements. In 1778 additional information concerning Cervantes was given by Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada, who, in the *Varias noticias literarias para las vidas de* *otros escritores españoles* which precede his *Ensayo de una bibliotheca de traductores españoles*, included official documents which threw light on various incidents in Cervantes's career. One or two additional documents were disclosed by Vicente de los Rios in the biographical sketch which he supplied to the edition of *Don Quixote* published by the Royal Spanish Academy in 1780. Meanwhile, Pellicer had continued his researches, the useful results of which are embodied in the preliminaries to his edition of *Don Quixote*, published in 1797–8; he disproved some current misconceptions, and did good service by substituting facts for surmises in many cases. Greater progress was made by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete in his *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, issued by the Royal Spanish Academy in 1819. In this scholarly work a careful collation of the available evidence placed Cervantes's biography on a solid basis. Its merits were at once recognized; it took rank as the leading authority on the subject, and is the source of all the subsequent biographies of Cervantes published in many languages during the nineteenth century.

No doubt, after 1819, further information on obscure points in Cervantes's life was furnished by Travadillo, Morán, Asensio y Toledo, Sigüenza and others; but no substantial addition was made to the facts collected by Navarrete, and these later discoveries were often ignored by foreign biographers who were content to produce diluted versions of Navarrete's work. No great advance was made during the ensuing seventy-eight years. At last, in 1897, the late Cristóbal Pérez Pastor edited a volume entitled *Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos.* Some of his theories, notably one referring to a supposititious edition of *Don Quixote* ascribed to the year 1604, were at once successfully challenged; the value of the volume lay—not in such superfluous speculations, but—in the fifty-six contemporary documents brought to light by the zealous investigator. These were followed in 1902 by one hundred and five more contemporary documents in a second series of *Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos*: in this supplementary collection the theory concerning the supposititious *Don Quixote* of 1604 was explicitly abandoned, corrections were supplied, missing links were made good, and, as before, a useful commentary was added. It is not too much to say that Pérez Pastor did more than any other recent investigator—perhaps more than all other modern investigators put together—to fill up blanks in the record of Cervantes's life.

The publication of the one hundred and sixty-one new documents revealed by Pérez Pastor's researches made it imperative to write Cervantes's biography anew. Little, however, has been done in this direction beyond the summary of results put together by Sr. D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori under the title of *Efemérides cervantinas*, a small volume published shortly before the Cervantes tercentenary commemoration of 1905. Many of these results were utilized by the late Francisco Navarro y Ledesma in *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, also issued in connexion with the tercentenary commemoration of 1905. As might be inferred from the title, this reconstruction reverts too often to the hypothetical methods which Pérez Pastor had made unnecessary. In reading Navarro y Ledesma, one can never feel sure whether a given statement is established fact or a flight of fancy.

In the present volume I have eschewed all such decorative devices, as I have eschewed literary criticism. With Cervantes's works I have dealt in detail elsewhere, and elsewhere I may deal with them again. In any case, criticism of Cervantes's literary achievement is never likely to be wanting. For the moment it seems to me more important to continue Navarrete's work, to place on record all that is positively known of Cervantes's life, to sift the guesses from the facts, and to establish the facts by such evidence as might satisfy a legal tribunal.

In the process of examining the evidence some picturesque legends must be discarded. Carlyle is quoted as saying: 'A certain strong man, of former time, fought stoutly at Lepanto, worked stoutly as Algerine slave; stoutly delivered himself from such working; with stout cheerfulness endured famine and nakedness and the world's ingratitude; and sitting in gaol, with one arm left him, wrote our joyfullest, and all but our deepest, modern book, and named it *Don Quixote*.' The details are not strictly accurate: Cervantes did not deliver himself from slavery, was not treated with any special ingratitude by the world, did not lose one of his arms, and did not (so far as we know) write *Don Quixote* when in gaol.

We must part with these pleasing inventions and others like them. It has often been said that, of the six hundred and sixty-nine characters in *Don Quixote*, not one is wholly bad; nor does nature, in whose school Cervantes learned his hard lesson, make men wholly good. A master in literature, a hero in battle, Cervantes had his share of human weakness, and his failings bring him into relation with such petty creatures as ourselves. They make him more real, more interesting, more sympathetic, and help to explain his bland forbearance in an age when urbanity and tolerance were as rare as they are now. My aim has been to give every known fact about Cervantes, suppressing nothing, extenuating nothing, unswayed as far as possible by the natural bias which we all have in favour of a great creative genius whose subtle charm has fascinated successive generations for three centuries. Against this inevitable prepossession I have been constantly on guard. As it happens, Cervantes needs no apologist: he is one of those rare men who can afford to have the whole truth told about them. In this belief I have tried to make my record as full and exact as possible.

My best thanks are due to my friend Dr. Henry Thomas for the scrupulous care with which he has read the proofs of this memoir: without his vigilant aid I should have come short of such accuracy as may be attained in it. For help in drawing up the index I am much indebted to Miss Rachel Alcock.

J. F.-K.

THE OLD HALL; AIGBURTH: LIVERPOOL.
June 20, 1913.

THE PORTRAIT OF CERVANTES

NOTE

THE frontispiece of this volume reproduces a picture which was first brought to notice in 1911. The original, a painting on wood, has been regarded as an authentic contemporary portrait of Cervantes. As such, it is assigned a conspicuous place in the main room of the Royal Spanish Academy, to which body the picture was generously presented by its former owner, Sr. Albiol.[1] Since the Royal Spanish Academy pretends to no authority in artistic matters, its conclusions respecting the authenticity of this alleged portrait of Cervantes must be received with some reserve.

It will be observed that the painting, which purports to be signed by Juan de Jauregui, is dated 1600 and bears Cervantes's name. These inscriptions are said to be contemporary with the portrait. But assertion is not proof, and the abundance of detail in these inscriptions may perhaps awaken, instead of allaying, doubts concerning the authenticity of the painting.

In the first place, it is far from certain that Jauregui ever painted any likeness of Cervantes. The opinion that Jauregui did paint a portrait of Cervantes is based on a humorous, apologetic passage in the prologue to the *Novelas exemplares*:

> Quisiera yo, si fuera possible (Lector amantissimo) escusarme de escriuir este prologo, porque no me fue tan bien con el que puse en mi don Quixote, que quedasse cõ

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[1] Sr. Albiol is a professor in the School of Arts at Oviedo. According to Sr. Sentenach, he was formerly a 'restaurateur de tableaux anciens à Madrid' (*Revue hispanique*, Paris, 1911, vol. xxv, pp. 13–18).

gana de segundar con este. Desto tiene la culpa algun amigo de los muchos que en el discurso de mi vida he grangeado, antes con mi condicion, que con mi ingenio: el qual amigo bien pudiera, como es vso, y costũbre, grauarme, y esculpirme en la primera hoja deste libro, pues le diera mi retrato el famoso don Iuan de Xaurigui, y con esto quedara mi ambicion satisfecha, y el desseo de algunos que querrian saber, que rostro, y talle tiene, quien se atreue a salir con tantas inuenciones en la plaça del mundo, à los ojos de las gentes, poniendo debaxo del retrato: Este que veys aqui de rostro aguileño, de cabello castaño, frente lisa, y desembaraçada, de alegres ojos, y de nariz corba, aunque bien proporcionada: las barbas de plata, que no ha veynte años que fueron de oro: los vigotes grandes, la boca pequeña, los dientes ni menudos, ni crecidos, porque no tiene sino seys, y essos mal acondiciados y peor puestos, porque no tienen correspondencia los vnos con los otros: el cuerpo entre dos estremos, ni grande, ni pequeño: la color viua, antes blanca, que morena, algo cargado de espaldas, y no muy ligero de pies. Este digo que es el rostro del Autor de la Galatea, y de don Quixote de la Mancha, y del que hizo el viage del Parnaso, a imitacion del de Cesar Caporali Perusino, y otras obras que andan por ahi descarriadas, y quizà sin el nombre de su dueño.

This passage, evidently written long after 1600,[1] is not decisive. Taken in their obvious, natural sense, Cervantes's bantering words mean nothing more than that the curiosity of his readers as to his personal appearance could be satisfied by applying to Jauregui who would willingly accept a commission to paint the author's portrait, which might be engraved later at the expense of a (purely fictitious) friend. There is no proof that any portrait of Cervantes by Jauregui was in existence when the prologue to the *Novelas exemplares* was written. The production of such proof is manifestly an indispensable preliminary towards establishing the authenticity of the Albiol painting.

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[1] The first *Aprobacion* for the *Novelas exemplares* is dated July 9, 1612; the *Privilegio* for Aragon is dated August 9, 1613. The prologue cannot well have been written after the latter date. It may have been written earlier, to judge from the following passage: 'mi edad no esta ya para burlarse con la otra vida, que al cinquenta y cinco de los años gano por nueue mas, y por la mano.' If Cervantes was sixty-four years of age at the time, the prologue must have been written in 1611-12.

We cannot even be sure that this picture is by Jauregui. Its history, previous to 1911, is unknown. The test of comparison is impossible, for no other painting by Jauregui seems to have survived.[1] The inscriptions on the picture do not help us. Take the date, for instance. We have no detailed information as to Cervantes's movements in 1600; he was certainly in Seville on May 2, 1600, and he may have been there before and after this date in 1600; we do not know. It is likewise possible that Jauregui was in Seville in 1600. But there is no reason to think that Cervantes and Jauregui were then known to one another. The presumption is against any such idea. Jauregui's family were people of some social importance in Seville. Cervantes was apparently unknown outside the humble circle in which he moved. It is significant that his name is never mentioned by a single one of the many literary men resident in Seville at this period. There was nothing to recommend him to prosperous citizens. He was under a cloud. He had lost his modest employment. He had been in prison more than once. He had not yet published *Don Quixote.* He was obscure, living from hand to mouth. His history and circumstances were not such as to suggest that he was a desirable acquaintance for the son of well-to-do, ambitious parents. It is not easy to see why any one should have been tempted to paint Cervantes's portrait in the year 1600.

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[1] José Jordán de Urríes y Azara, *Biografía y estudio crítico de Jáuregui* (Madrid, 1899), p. 12. 'Forzoso es confesar con sentimiento que no se conservan los cuadros que debió pintar Jáuregui, y que así, en lo que atañe á enaltecer su mérito como pintor, tenemos que ceñirnos á las noticias que los libros nos han transmitido.'

This is qualified by the following note:—'Debo advertir, sin embargo, que el Sr. Asensio ha tenido la suerte, según me comunica, de ver uno que se conserva con la firma de D. Juan.' No details are given as to the subject of this painting or its whereabouts.

Jauregui's style can be judged only by the engraving of Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado's portrait in this author's Πεντηκονταρχος *sive Qvinqvaginta Militvm Dvctor* (Antverpiæ, 1612), and by the plates in *Rev. Patris Ludovici ab Alcasar Hispalensis e Societate Iesv Theologi, & in Prouincia Bætica Sacræ Scripturæ Professoris Vestigatio Arcani Sensus in Apocalypsi* (Antverpiæ, 1614).

The engraving has been removed from the British Museum copy of Ramirez de Prado's work. To judge from the incisions on f. 13, the portrait has been cut out rather recently.

The respective ages of Jauregui and Cervantes at this date are germane to the discussion. Jauregui, according to a certificate printed by his latest biographer,[1] was baptized on November 24, 1583. Hence he would be (at most) seventeen in 1600. The date of his birth is not, however, free from doubt. In a legal document, dated May 11, 1609, Jauregui speaks of himself as being then twenty-four years old.[2] If this statement be correct, Jauregui would be (at most) fifteen in 1600. Seventeen or fifteen: the discrepancy is unimportant, for the purpose of this discussion. Cervantes was (at least) fifty-two years old in 1600. We cannot reasonably assume any close personal relations, any intimate friendship, between a man of his age and position and a lad of Jauregui's age and position.

The other inscriptions on the Albiol painting may be briefly considered. The word 'Don' before Cervantes's Christian name attracts attention. Though 'Don' was beginning to be vulgarized towards the end of the sixteenth century, it was not likely to be loosely used by a youth of Jauregui's status. It is relevant to add that Cervantes never used the word 'Don' in speaking of himself; that he is never called 'Don' in contemporary documents; that his daughter refers to him as plain 'Señor de Cervantes'[1]; and that, as he himself records, the simple formula 'Señor Miguel de Cervantes' was used by the friend mentioned in the prologue to *Persiles y Sigismunda*.[2]

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[1] José Jordán de Urríes y Azara, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[2] Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña, Parte Tercera* (Madrid, 1907), p. 206: '. . . atento á ser como soy de edad de veinte y quatro años y menor de veinte y cinco . . .'

Lastly, the orthography of the artist's surname—'Iaurigui'—is unexpected. It is asserted, indeed, that this form occurs in early documents, but those early documents have not been produced for inspection.[3] However that may be, the surname appears as 'Iauregui' or 'Iavregvi' on the title-pages of the artist's literary publications.[4] An *i* is substituted for the *e* by Cervantes (in whose works the surname is printed 'Xaurigui'),[5] and this change of vowel would naturally be reproduced by anybody who, with the passage from the prologue to the *Novelas exemplares* in his mind, retouched the Albiol painting.[6]

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[1] See the document quoted in the present volume, p. 213, n. 2; see also p. 139, n. 4.

[2] This prologue is reprinted in the present volume, p. 199, n. 2.

[3] Jauregui's name naturally occurs for the first time in his baptismal certificate. In the transcription published by Sr. D. José Jordán de Urríes y Azara, the form of the surname is 'gauregui'.

[4] The surname is printed 'Iauregui' on the title-pages of the translation of Tasso's *Aminta* (Rome, 1607), the *Discvrso poetico* (Madrid, 1624), the *Apologia por la verdad* (Madrid, 1625), and the *Memorial al rey nuestro señor* (Madrid, 1625). 'Iavregvi' is the form used on the title-pages of the *Rimas* (Sevilla, 1618) and *Orfeo* (Madrid, 1624). An undated essay on painting has the following title-page: *Dõ Ivan de Iavregvi cavallerizo de la Reina nuestra señora, cuyas vniuersales letras, y eminencia en la Pintura, han manifestado a este Reyno, y a los estraños sus nobles estudios.* This essay is signed 'Don Iuan de Iauregui'.

[5] The passage in the prologue to the *Novelas exemplares*, where the form 'Xaurigui' occurs, has been printed above (pp. xiii–xiv). The form 'Xaurigui' is found also in the *Viage del Parnaso* (Madrid, 1614), fol. 9 verso; and in the *Segvnda Parte del Ingenioso Cavallero Don Qvixote de la Mancha* (Madrid, 1615), fol. 242 verso.

[6] M. R. Foulché-Delbosc points out (*Revue hispanique*, New York–Paris, 1911, vol. xxv, p. 480) that the painting has been retouched,

These points are real difficulties. None of them, taken singly, is fatal. Yet their cumulative force is not to be denied. The alleged portrait has an inscription that confers on Cervantes the honorific 'Don' which is never applied to him by any contemporary; it bears a form of signature which the alleged artist did not habitually use; it purports to have been painted by this artist between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. On the other hand, the portrait is approved as genuine by the Royal Spanish Academy. We cannot, however, forget that this is not the first alleged portrait of Cervantes on which the Royal Spanish Academy has staked its credit.[1] On its own admission, the Royal

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possibly during the latter half of the eighteenth century, with a view to making it accord more closely with Cervantes's description of himself. 'Sous l'épaisse couche de vernis dont on a généreusement recouvert le tableau, il est aisé de distinguer des repeints : ces repeints intéressent toute la région sincipitale antérieure. Personne, à ma connaissance, ne les a signalés. La tête, avant cette retouche, avait un front d'une hauteur moyenne ; l'ancienne limite des cheveux est nettement visible, et le modèle n'était affligé d'aucun commencement de calvitie : or Cervantes avait la « frente lisa, y desembaraçada ». Il y a là une discordance qui, à mon avis, est une nouvelle marque d'inauthenticité. En effet, la seule explication de ces malencontreux repeints est que, à une époque qu'il reste à déterminer (peut-être dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^{e} siècle ?), quelqu'un qui connaissait le prologue des *Novelas* s'efforça de mettre en harmonie le portrait écrit dû à Cervantes lui-même et le portrait d'un inconnu que, par caprice ou par intérêt, il avait résolu de faire passer pour le portrait de l'auteur de *Don Quichotte*. Dans ce cas, les inscriptions seraient contemporaines des repeints, car si les inscriptions avaient déjà figuré sur le portrait, nul ne se serait avisé de retoucher celui-ci, et surtout de le retoucher à l'endroit indiqué. Et la date de 1600, si étrange maintenant que nous savons que Jauregui naquit en novembre 1583, s'explique aisément si l'on veut bien se rappeler que jusqu'en 1899 on croyait que le peintre-poète était né en 1570 ou vers 1570.'

[1] The London edition of *Don Quixote*, published by Tonson in 1738, was furnished with a fancy portrait of Cervantes. The artist was William Kent who, having nothing else to go upon, necessarily followed the indications given by the author in the prologue to the *Novelas exemplares*. There was no attempt to pass off the portrait as anything

Spanish Academy was mistaken in 1780: it may be wrong again in 1912–13. The best experts are prone to err in these

but what it was. Underneath George Vertue's engraving is the inscription : *Retrato de Cervantes de Saavedra por el mismo.*

When the Royal Spanish Academy was preparing the edition of *Don Quixote* issued in 1780, the Academicians endeavoured to find something more satisfactory than Kent's makeshift. Their inquiries led them to believe that an authentic contemporary portrait of Cervantes was in the possession of the Conde del Águila. Águila declared that he had bought the portrait in question from a Madrid picture-dealer who had sold it as a work by Alonso de Arco. This was embarrassing. As Arco was not born till 1625, he could never have seen Cervantes. Either the portrait was spurious or the attribution to Arco was false.

The picture ascribed to Arco (who died in 1701) so closely resembled Kent's fancy portrait that it might be taken for a copy of the English engraving. It could not be contended that this Águila painting, discovered in Spain shortly before 1780, had somehow become known in England to Kent some forty years earlier. Unwilling to draw the obvious conclusion that the Águila painting was not by Arco, but by some unknown artist of later date who had simply copied Kent, the Academicians consulted Antonio Gonzalez and Andrés de la Calleja—'pintores de Cámara de S. M. y Directores de la Real Academia de San Fernando.'

Both these experts reported that the Águila painting was much older than Kent's fancy portrait ; that it dated from the seventeenth century ; and that it belonged to the school of Vicencio Carducho and Eugenio Caxes, both of whom lived in the time of Philip IV. This theory, though it seemed to dispose of Kent's claim to priority, was disappointing. The portrait could not be from life, since Cervantes died five years before Philip IV came to the throne. But the Academicians could not bring themselves to reject the Águila portrait altogether. With the report of the two experts before them, they came to the ingenious conclusion that the Águila picture was a copy of some good original—possibly a portrait by Jauregui or Pacheco—painted during the lifetime of Cervantes. The Academy accepted the painting as a gift from the Conde del Águila, and an engraving of it duly appeared in the 1780 edition of *Don Quixote.* This portrait is now universally admitted to be spurious. The experts consulted by the Academy were wrong, and the theory put forward by the Academy was untenable.

difficult matters of ascription, and even inexperienced laymen are not infallible.

On the facts before us at present, it is impossible to declare positively that the Albiol painting is authentic. Proofs of its authenticity may be forthcoming later. Meanwhile, the portrait is sufficiently interesting to deserve reproduction here.

MEMOIR

In this brief biographical essay an attempt is made to record the incidents of Cervantes's career, so far as they are established by something like satisfactory evidence. It will probably be impossible to avoid all mention of conjectures, some of them ingenious and even plausible. But these will be given in the notes rather than in the text, the main object of which is to supply a statement of facts, as revealed by trustworthy documents. Hence, at the outset, we must exclude from consideration the too well known genealogical tree which purports to show Cervantes's descent from Tello Murielliz, a shadowy *ricohome* of Castile who is alleged to have flourished towards the end of the tenth century.[1] This table of lineage is partly based on the work of the notorious pedigree-monger Rodrigo Mendez Silva,[2] and is therefore of no authority.

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[1] This genealogical tree will be found, inserted between pp. 592–3, in most copies of Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid, 1819): see also the section of Navarrete's work entitled *Ilustraciones y documentos*, pp. 232–48. The *floruit* of Tello Murielliz is given as 988.

[2] Rodrigo Mendez Silva, *Ascendencia ilvstre, gloriosos hechos, y posteridad noble del famoso Nvño Alfonso* . . . (Madrid, 1648).

I

The data at our disposal do not enable us to trace Cervantes's ancestry further back than two generations. We cannot follow up his family history beyond his grandfather, Juan de Cervantes, whose name is first found in a deed executed on May 13, 1533[1]: in this deed Juan de Cervantes describes himself as a *licenciado*, then residing at Alcalá de Henares.[2] It may be taken that he was a licenciate of law; for, when next we meet him (on December 1 and 19, 1545, and on March 1 and 13, 1546), we discover him attaching his signature to the capitular acts of Osuna, as one of three petty magistrates who heard appeals on the Andalusian estates of the fourth Conde de Ureña—estates which included the districts of Osuna, El Arahal, Morón, Olvera, and Archidona.[3] We have not yet learned when Juan de Cervantes was appointed to this small judicial post, nor when and why he ceased to hold it. His subsequent history remains obscure.[4] His name (as it seems to some good judges) is next encountered in a document dated October 9, 1555: here a Juan de Cervantes appears as supporting the claims of a certain Juan de Cardenas to a chaplaincy at Osuna. This Juan de Cervantes described himself as a lawyer, sixty-five years of age, residing at Córdoba.[1] He is generally identified as Cervantes's grandfather, (1) because he has the same name, (2) because he belonged to the same profession, and (3) because his signature bears a striking resemblance to that of the Juan de Cervantes whose name is attached to the register of proceedings at Osuna for 1545–6.[2] If this identification be correct—and it has not yet been challenged—it may be assumed provisionally that Cervantes's grandfather was born in or about the year 1490.[3] The names of Juan de Cervantes's parents, and the date of his death, are not known.

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[1] Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos* (Madrid, 1897-1902), vol. I, pp. 1-3.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1. '. . . yo, el licenciado Juan de Çervantes, residente en la villa de Alcalá de Henares . . .'

[3] Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Cervantes y la Universidad de Osuna* in *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo en el año vigésimo de su profesorado* (Madrid, 1899), vol. II, pp. 809-810.

[4] There is nothing to support the idea that Juan de Cervantes was at any time *corregidor* of Osuna, as stated by the *alférez* Luis de Pedrosa in the *Informacion* drawn up at Algiers on October 14, 1580 (Navarrete, *op. cit.*, p. 246), and as repeated by Pérez Pastor (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 221).

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[1] Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Cervantes estudió en Sevilla* (1564–5). *Discurso leído . . . en la solemne inauguración del curso* [del Ateneo y Sociedad de Excursiones] *de 1900 á 1901* (Sevilla, 1901), p. 9. 'En las pruebas de Juan de Cárdenas, natural de Córdoba, aspirante á una colegiatura del Mayor de Osuna, declaró en aquella ciudad, á 9 de octubre de 1555, "el señor licenciado Juan de Cervantes, vezino de Córdoba, en la collación de Santo Domingo e Santiago," y dijo, entre otras cosas, ser "de hedad de sesenta e cinco años".'

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10. 'Esta circunstancia, la de entenderse por el texto de la declaración que el declarante era abogado, y la de estar sacada su firma, en el testimonio que he leído, en idéntica forma y con la propia abreviatura que él usaba (*el licen*^{do} *cervãtes*) . . . parécenme indicios más que vehementes de que el ex-gobernador del estado de Osuna y el sexagenario letrado de Córdoba fueron una persona misma.'

[3] Julio de Sigüenza, *El licenciado Juan de Cervantes y su hija Doña Maria* in *La Ilustración española y americana* (September 22, 1887, pp. 167, col. 3 – 171, col. 1), alleges that Juan de Cervantes died in 1546, the year before his famous grandson was born. But the value

The date of his marriage and the name of his wife are likewise unknown to us. But, from the above-mentioned deed of May 13, 1533, it may be gathered that Juan de Cervantes was at this date the father of a son named Andrés,[1] and of a daughter named Maria. Beyond the statement in the preamble of the deed that Maria was under twenty-five years of age on the day the document was signed,[2] there is no available information as to when either Andrés or Maria de Cervantes was born. Nor is there any record of the birth or baptism of their brother Rodrigo, who is presumed to have been their junior. It has been asserted that Rodrigo was a licentiate, like his father.[3] There is no proof that he held any such diploma, and in two legal documents he speaks of himself as a *medico çurujano*[4]—

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of this assertion is somewhat diminished by the fact that Sr. Sigüenza confused Juan de Cervantes with a certain Pedro de Cervantes, *corregidor* of Alcalá de Henares. See Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Efemérides cervantinas ó sea resumen cronológico de la vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid, 1905), pp. 9–10.

[1] 'Andrés de Çervantes, hijo del dicho licenciado Çervantes' is one of the witnesses to the deed drawn in favour of Doña Maria: see Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 3. It is inferred that this Andrés had a son named Juan, for Cervantes's father refers to 'juan de çervantes mi sobrino' in a power of attorney signed at Seville on October 30, 1564 (Rodríguez Marín, *Cervantes estudió en Sevilla*, p. 30).

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 1 '... porque la dicha doña María mi hija no se puede obligar sin mi licencia por estar debaxo de la patria potestad e tambien por ser menor de edad de veinte y cinco años ....'

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 284. Pérez Pastor thought that Rodrigo probably took a degree in law: see page 5, note 2.

[4] Rodríguez Marín, *Cervantes estudió en Sevilla*, pp. 29–30. Both documents were signed at Seville on October 30, 1564.

that is to say, an authorized medical practitioner of a humble type. At some place not yet ascertained, and presumably at some date not later than March, 1543,[1] Rodrigo de Cervantes[2] married Leonor de Cortinas,[3] daughter of Elvira de Cortinas.[4] Except that Elvira de Cortinas owned a patch of land at Arganda, we know nothing of the family into which Rodrigo de Cervantes married. Rodrigo de Cervantes and Leonor de Cortinas had issue: Andrés,[5] Andrea,[6]

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[1] See note 5 below, where the date of Andrés de Cervantes's baptism is given.

[2] He is called the 'licenciado Cervantes de Saavedra' in a contract signed by his daughter Magdalena on August 11, 1599, fourteen years after his death: see Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 136. In contemporary documents his name appears as Rodrigo de Cervantes, without the title of *licenciado*. As to the use of the additional name of Saavedra, see Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 237–9.

[3] The name of Leonor's father is not recorded. In the sixteenth century, and later, it was not uncommon in Spanish families for sons to take their father's surname, and daughters their mother's, but there was much confusion in this respect, for the practice was sometimes reversed, as in the case of Gongora. Juan Antonio Pellicer (*Discurso preliminar* to his edition of *Don Quixote*, Madrid, 1797–8, vol. I, p. cxciii) conjectures that Leonor was a native of Barajas, near Alcalá de Henares. This guess was repeated by Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 9), and will be found in most biographies of Cervantes.

[4] Elvira de Cortinas evidently died before December 2, 1566, for on that day her daughter Leonor signed a power of attorney in which she speaks of 'Elvira de Cortinas, mi señora y madre, que esté en gloria' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 2).

[5] Andrés was baptized in the church of Santa María la Mayor at Alcalá de Henares on December 12, 1543: the certificate is printed by Navarrete (*Vida*, pp. 551–2). As Andrés is not named in his father's will, made on June 8, 1585 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 83–6), it is supposed that he died before this date.

[6] Andrea seems to have been uncertain as to the date of her birth. On March 6, 1565, she declared before a notary that she was then about seventeen (Rodríguez Marín, *Cervantes estudió en Sevilla*, p. 32) on

Loisa,[1] Miguel, Rodrigo,[2] Magdalena,[3] and Juan.[4]

June 30, 1605, she declared that she was then fifty years of age (see p. 60, n. 3). On these dates respectively she was twenty and sixty years old, having been baptized in the church of Santa María la Mayor at Alcalá de Henares on November 24, 1544: the certificate is printed by Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 552).

[1] Loisa was baptized in the church of Santa María la Mayor at Alcalá de Henares on August 25, 1546: the certificate is printed by Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 552). On February 11, 1565, Loisa joined the order of Barefooted Carmelites in the convent of the Conception (otherwise of *La Imagen*) at Alcalá de Henares, her name in religion being Sor Luisa de Belén. Naturally she enters but little into the history of the Cervantes family. It may, therefore, be convenient to give here the facts concerning her life as recorded (with superfluous hyperbolical comments) by Esteban Azaña, *Historia de la ciudad de Alcalá de Henares (antigua Compluto) adicionada con una reseña histórico-geográfica de los pueblos de su partido judicial* (Alcalá de Henares and Madrid, 1882–3), vol. I, pp. 408–9. 'Por otra parte, la ilustre hermana de Cervantes, Luisa, que consta real y positivamente se hizo religiosa Carmelita, en el [convento] de la Concepcion de esta ciudad, vulgarmente de la Imagen prueba la existencia de esta famillia en la antigua Compluto. La vida religiosa de la hermana de Cervantes está detallada en las siguientes líneas, que debemos á la amabilidad de la priora del convento, donde se lleva una apuntacion en un empergaminado cuaderno, de la entrada de cada monja, cargos que desempeña y dia de su muerte, y que para que no falte algo de fatalidad en la vida de la hermana de Cervantes, cosa que pocas veces se repite en el monasterio, no se consigna en lo que pudiera llamarse biografia de esta religiosa el dia que ocurrió su muerte. He aquí lo que de ella se sabe en el convento.

'El once de febrero de 1565, tomaba el santo hábito de carmelita descalza, en el convento referido en el párrafo anterior, Luisa de Cervantes, hija de Rodrigo y de doña Leonor, conociéndose en el claustro por Sor Luisa de Belen y Cervantes, la que asistió como religiosa, á la santa visita del año 1572, á los ocho años de su ingreso en el monasterio y veinticinco de su edad; tres años despues fué nombrada sacristana, y en el año 1580 no presenció las elecciones, por hallarse enferma, firmandose Clavaria en 1585 y asistiendo á la visita del año siguiente en que fué nombrada Tornera, siendo elegida Subpriora en 1596, cuyo cargo ejerció hasta el 99 en que quedó de Clavaria, siguiendo en el desempeño de su nuevo empleo hasta 1602, en que fué elegida Priora, cargo en el que fué reelegida al terminar su nombra-

It is with the fourth of these seven children that we are chiefly concerned here.

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miento en 1605: volvió á figurar como Clavaria en 1608, apareciendo nuevamente en 1611 como Subpriora del convento; tres años despues, ó sea en 1614 es nombrada Clavaria, cuyo cargo desempeña por seis años á cuya terminacion en 1620 es reelegida Priora. Asi consta clara y terminantemente en los libros de entradas y visitas ó elecciones del citado convento de Alcalá, y como es proverbial que en este histórico convento modelo de virtud por parte de sus religiosas, se han dado siempre los empleos de responsabilidad, á aquellas monjas que mas acreditada han tenido, su prudencia, su tacto y madurez de entendimiento se desprende claramente que Luisa de Cervantes al figurar por tres veces como Priora, maximum de las que puede obtenerse tan honroso cargo á parte de las veces que desempeñó otros tambien importantes, fue una de las religiosas de mayor nombradia en el monasterio, y seguramente que su inteligencia femenil, participaria de la luminosa suficiencia de su ilustre hermano.'

[2] Rodrigo was baptized in the church of Santa María la Mayor at Alcalá de Henares on June 23, 1550: the baptismal certificate is printed by Ramón León Máinez (*Cervantes y su época*, Jerez de la Frontera, 1901–3, p. 104) who had previously communicated it to M. Paul Mirannes (*Un frère de Cervantès: documents inédits* in *La Nouvelle Revue*, Paris, August 15, 1901, pp. 585–92).

[3] In her will, made on October 11, 1610, Magdalena stated that she was a native of Valladolid (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 285); in her death-certificate, however, she is described as a native of Madrid (*Crónica de los Cervantistas*, Cádiz, April 23, 1872, vol. I, p. 105). The year of her birth is likewise uncertain. In one place Pérez Pastor (*Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 225) suggests 1558 or 1559 as a likely date: in another (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 350) he gives 1555 as an alternative. Magdalena's own ideas as to her age varied from time to time. On May 7, 1575, she stated that she was less than twenty-five and more than sixteen (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 23); on August 1, 1575, she stated that she was less than twenty-five and more than eighteen (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 27): apparently she was still a minor on June 29, 1578 (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 54–5). It would seem, then, that she cannot have been born after 1557, nor (if she may be trusted) before 1553.

[4] Juan's existence is only known to us through the mention of him in his father's will (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 85), dated June 8, 1585: '. . . dexo e nombro por mis herederos universales de todos mis bienes a Miguel

II

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra was baptized on Sunday, October 9, 1547, in the parish church of St. Mary the Greater at Alcalá de Henares,[1] and we have his personal testimony also that he was born in this town.[2] As was the case with most Spaniards

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de Zerbantes e a Rodrigo de Çervantes y a Juan de Çerbantes y a doña Andrea de Zerbantes e a doña Madalena de Çerbantes, mis hijos, e hijos de la dicha doña Leonor de Cortinas, mi muger. . . . ' Pérez Pastor conjectures (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 333) that as Juan de Cervantes is not mentioned in the deeds executed by his mother and his sister Magdalena in 1593 (see p. 89, n. 2), he had died before this date. Possibly; but neither of them refers in these documents to Andrea, Miguel, and Rodrigo, who were unquestionably alive at the time.

[1] Cervantes's baptismal certificate was first published in Agustin de Montiano y Luyando, *Discurso II. sobre las tragedias españolas* (Madrid, 1753), p. 10. It has often been reproduced: perhaps the most convenient references are Navarrete (*Vidâ*, p. 552), and Máinez (*Cervantes y su época*, p. 104). The latter gives the document as follows, after a copy made by Sr. D. Ramón Santa María on January 10, 1901:

> ' domjngo nueve dias del mes de otubre Año del señor de mill / e qnjs. e quarenta e siete años fue baptizado miguel / hijo de Rodrigo de çervantes e su muger doña leonor fue/ron sus conpadres Ju^{o} / pardo baptizole El R.^{do} señor br.^{e} / seRano Cura de nr̄ā. señora ts.^{o} baltasar vazqz. sacristā / e yo q. le baptize e firme de mj nōbre.
>
> El bachillr̄. SeRano.'

This is taken from the corresponding volume of the parish register, fol. 192 verso. It will be observed that the name 'Saavedra' does not appear in the baptismal certificate, and, though it occurs on the title-pages of Cervantes's works (with the exception of the title-page of *La Galatea*, in which novel it is given at the end of the preface), it was often omitted by him when signing official and legal documents. However, as already stated (p. 5, n. 2), it would seem from the declaration made by Magdalena de Cervantes in 1599 that her father may have used the name of Saavedra occasionally.

[2] Not at Seville, as was presumed by the judges who presided at the celebration in honour of St. Hyacinth at Saragossa in May 1595 (*Relacion de la fiesta que se ha hecho*, &c., Çaragoça, 1595, p. 390), by

of his time, the actual date of his birth is not

Nicolas Antonio (*Bibliotheca Hispana*, Roma, 1672–9, vol. II, p. 105), by Diego Ortiz de Zuñiga (*Annales eclesiasticos, y secvlares de la mvy noble, y mvy leal civdad de Sevilla*, Madrid, 1677, p. 590, col. 2), and by Pedro Murillo Velarde (*Geographia historica*, Madrid, 1752, vol. X, p. 28).

Not at Toledo, as was thought by the contemporary actor-dramatist Andrés de Claramonte (*Letania moral*, Sevilla, 1613, p. 482).

Not at Esquivias, as alleged by Tomas Tamayo de Vargas in his unpublished *Junta de libros la mayor que jamas ha visto España* (compiled in 1624).

Not at Madrid, as implied by Lope de Vega (*Lavrel de Apolo*, Madrid, 1630, silva 8, f. 75 recto and verso), whose surmise is repeated by Gregorio Mayans y Siscar in his biography preceding the *Vida y hechos del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Londres, 1738), vol. I, p. 2, par. 4, and p. 3, par. 7.

Not at Lucena, as a local tradition would have it, according to Mayans y Siscar (*loc. cit.*, p. 2, par. 3).

Not at Consuegra, as has been suggested owing to the words—'El Autor de los Quijotes'—found on the margin of a certificate recording the baptism (Consuegra, September 1, 1556) of Miguel, son of Miguel Lopez de Cervantes and Maria de Figueroa (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 556).

Not at Alcázar de San Juan, as conjectured by Alonso Cano, afterwards Bishop of Segorve, on the strength of a certificate recording the baptism (Alcázar de San Juan, November 9, 1558) of Miguel, son of Blas de Cervantes Saavedra and Catalina Lopez (Josef Miguel de Flores, *Aduana critica, . . . Hebdomadario de los sabios de España*, Madrid, 1764, vol. III, p. 264). On the margin is written: 'Este fue el autor de la Historia de Don Quixote.' Navarrete ascribes (*Vida*, p. 556) this marginal note to Blas Nasarre, the editor of Cervantes's plays; Sr. Cotarelo y Mori thinks (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 18) that Nasarre was hoaxed by a local wag, then parish-priest at Alcázar de San Juan. The theory that this Miguel de Cervantes was the author of *Don Quixote* involves the conclusion that he fought at Lepanto before he was thirteen, and that his elegies on Isabel de Valois were written before he was ten. Yet it is held by some—amongst others by Juan Álvarez Guerra (*Sol de Cervantes Saavedra, su verdadera patria Alcázar de San Juan*, Madrid, 1878); by Francisco Lizcano y Alaminos (*Historia de la verdadera cuna de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra y Lopez, autor del Don Quijote de la Mancha, con las metamórfosis bucólicas y geórgicas de dicha obra. Vida y hechos del Príncipe de los Ingenios Españoles, con una refutación analítica de las biografías que de recorded.[1] No information reaches us as to how, and where, he passed his boyhood.[2] There are

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este autor se han impreso hasta el dia, Madrid, 1892); by Antonio Castellanos (*Apuntes sobre la verdadera patria de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Alcázar de San Juan, 1896); and by José María Riguera Montoro (*Estudio acerca de la verdadera cuna y oriundez de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Segunda edición, La Coruña, 1910). The last-named meets the chronological difficulties by asking (p. 10): '¿ No tenía menos de 14 años el humilde pastor David, cuando venció el blasfemo é impío gigante Goliat?' According to an article by 'Doctor Póstumo' in *El Heraldo de Madrid* (Sunday, April 23, 1893), the baptismal certificate in question is a forgery committed during the eighteenth century by an illiterate who, with the object of strengthening the case for his fabrication, is alleged to have falsified the entries which follow the entry concerning Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra y Lopez in the register of Alcázar de San Juan. The essential paragraphs of 'Doctor Póstumo's' article are reprinted by Manuel de Foronda in the first appendix to *Cervantes en la Exposición Histórico-Europea* (Madrid, 1894), pp. 85–95.

The claims formerly asserted on behalf of Herencia (Ciudad-Real) and Madridejos (Toledo) are now abandoned.

All possible controversy is closed by the description which Cervantes gives of himself in his *Informacion*, dated Madrid, December 18, 1580 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 65): 'Miguel de Çerbantes, natural de Alcalá de Henares, residente en este corte, digo . . .' Apart from this decisive statement, there would be strong presumption in favour of Alcalá de Henares. The custom in Catholic countries is that children are baptized in the church of the parish in which they are born. Only special circumstances would justify a departure from the ordinary practice, as in the case of the Jesuit historian Mariana: see M. Georges Cirot, *La Famille de Juan de Mariana* in the *Bulletin hispanique* (Bordeaux, 1904), vol. VI, pp. 309–31. There were no such circumstances in Cervantes's case.

[1] From the fact that Cervantes bore the Christian name of Miguel, it has been conjectured that he was born on the Feast of St. Michael, Thursday, September 29, 1547.

[2] It has been suggested (Rodríguez Marín, *Cervantes estudió en Sevilla*, p. 11) that all the Cervantes family moved to Córdoba in 1548, and remained there with Juan de Cervantes till after 1555. This is contradicted by the fact that the younger Rodrigo de Cervantes was born at Alcalá de Henares in 1550.

indications that his father, the elder Rodrigo de Cervantes, was a restless man, unsuccessful in his profession. He appears now in one place, now in another, and it is possible that, as his children grew up, one or other of them went with him occasionally on his journeys. He is found on October 30, 1564, at Seville,[1] where he owned some house property,[2] and it would appear that his wife was not at Seville with him at this date.[3] Perhaps the family made their home, such as it was, in Madrid.[4] Early next year (February 11, 1565) the second daughter Loisa was professed at the Convent of the Barefooted Carmelites in Alcalá de Henares,[5] but we are unable to say whether the elder Rodrigo de Cervantes remained in Seville, or whether he returned to Alcalá de

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[1] Rodríguez Marín, *Cervantes estudió en Sevilla*, pp. 29-31.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 29. In this document the elder Rodrigo de Cervantes acknowledges the receipt of a sum from his tenant Juan Mateo de Urueña, who had fallen behindhand with his rent: '. . . que me pagays por mandamiento rrequisitorio del señor alcalde andres rodrigues por el pleito executivo que contra vos e siguido sobre la rrenta de tres meses de vnas casas que de mi teneys. . . .'

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31. This is inferred from a power of attorney signed on October 30, 1564 by the elder Rodrigo de Cervantes, who authorizes his wife, Leonor de Cortinas, and his nephew, Juan de Cervantes, to receive money due to him.

[4] This is implied by the evidence of two witnesses living in Madrid who, on December 22, 1569, deposed to having known the Cervantes family for eight years. It might be argued that these witnesses made acquaintance with the family elsewhere, but this could scarcely apply to Alonso Getino de Guzman, a witness who was *alguacil* of Madrid, and must have resided there. Pérez Pastor (*Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 351) sees no reason to doubt the evidence of these witnesses, and there is none. But, in the interest of the petitioner, their cue was to exaggerate the extent of their acquaintance with him.

[5] See p. 6, n. 1.

Henares to witness Loisa's profession. His eldest daughter Andrea was undoubtedly at Seville on March 6, 1565,[1] and, since she appeared as a third party in a suit in which her father was principal, the probability is that he was in Seville with her. Loisa (now Sor Loisa de Belén) had withdrawn from the world, and has no further place in this record. Leaving her out of the question, it is uncertain whether the other members of the Cervantes family were often all gathered together under one roof. At Madrid, on December 2, 1566, Leonor de Cortinas signed a power of attorney authorizing her husband to receive whatever was due to her from the estate of her mother,[2] who had died recently; and, as this instrument was witnessed by the younger Rodrigo de Cervantes, it has been inferred that his elder brother Miguel must have been away from Madrid at the time.[3] But this inference may easily be mis-

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[1] Rodríguez Marín, *Cervantes estudió en Sevilla*, pp. 31-2.

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 1-4. See also a document, dated December 19, 1566 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 5-8), acknowledging the receipt of twenty *ducados* from Andrés Rendero, to whom the elder Rodrigo and his wife had sold a small vineyard near the village of Arganda. Apparently members of the Cervantes family were in Madrid on January 9, 1567; on that day the elder Rodrigo there signed a document empowering Andrés de Ozaeta to act for him in any lawsuits in which he might be concerned (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 9-10).

[3] Cotarelo y Mori, *Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 28. But, as already stated (p. 11, n. 4), two witnesses—Alonso Getino de Guzman, *alguacil* of Madrid, and Pirro Boqui—gave evidence implying that Miguel de Cervantes and his parents had lived at Madrid since 1561 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 11-16).

It may be noted that this Alonso Getino de Guzman was connected with the theatre, and to this extent shared the sympathies of taken. That other members of the Cervantes family were (and had been for some time) living in Madrid appears from a singular deed of gift, dated June 9, 1568.[1] In this deed Andrea de Cervantes is represented as receiving from a certain Juan Francisco Locadelo, an Italian formerly resident in Madrid, three hundred *escudos*, much wearing apparel, and a large amount of household furniture. These gifts were made (so the donor avowed) in recognition of the care with which Andrea had nursed him through a long illness, when he was a patient of her father's.[2]

Cervantes. Getino de Guzman appears in 1579 as being responsible for the building and expenses of the *Corral de la Cruz* (Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos acerca del histrionismo español en los siglos XVI y XVII* (*Segunda Série*) in the *Bulletin hispanique* (1906), vol. VIII, p. 76.

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 8–14.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 8. 'Sepan quantos esta carta de donacion ynrevocable vieren, como yo, Juan Locadelo, residente al presente en esta villa de Madrid y corte de su magestad, digo: que por quanto yo tengo mucha obligacion e soy en mucho cargo a la señora doña Andrea de Çervantes, hija de Rodrigo de Çervantes, residente en esta dicha villa e corte, ansi porque estando yo ausente de mi natural en esta tierra me ha regalado y curado algunas enfermedades que he tenido assi ella como su padre e hecho por mi y en mi utilidad otras muchas cosas de que yo tengo obligacion a lo remunerar y gratificar por ende en la via e forma que haya mejor lugar de derecho, e cumpliendo lo susodicho otorgo e conozco por esta presente carta que hago gracia y donacion a la dicha señora doña Andrea de Çervantes pura perfecta ynrebocable que llama el derecho entre vivos para ella e sus herederos y suçesores presentes y por venir y para quien ella quisiere e por bien tuviere es a saber de los bienes e cosas siguientes. . . .' Here follows a list of Locadelo's presents, which are said to be given to Andrea from motives of gratitude, and to enable her to marry. This is followed by provisions against interference on the part of her father, brothers, and other persons; in case of such interference the deed of gift is cancelled.

These are the only details, trivial but perhaps significant enough, which reach us concerning the Cervantes family during the score of years which followed Miguel de Cervantes's birth.[1] Apart from one juvenile composition discovered some fourteen years ago by M. Foulché-Delbosc,[2] we know nothing of Cervantes from the day of his baptism till he comes into sight again after the death of Philip II's third wife, Isabel de Valois, on October 3, 1568. In commemoration of her Cervantes wrote a *copla*, four *redondillas*, and an elegy (probably also a sonnet), which were printed next year (1569) in the *Hystoria y relaciō verdadera de la enfermedad felicissimo transito, y sumptuosas exequias funebres de la Serenissima Reyna de España doña Isabel de Valoys nuestra Señora*, a volume edited by a Madrid schoolmaster named Juan Lopez de Hoyos,[3] who calls the young versifier his beloved pupil.[4] The phrase is complimentary, but its precise meaning is not plain. It was used in 1568–9 when Cervantes was twenty-one, and, as he was then too old to be at school, it probably refers to the past. Had Cervantes been a pupil under Lopez de Hoyos before the latter became head master of the school at Madrid in January, 1568[1]? Did he study privately with Lopez de Hoyos after this date, or did he act as an assistant-master under him between January and November of that year? Some colour may seem to be lent to this last supposition by the epigraph to one of Cervantes's poems, said to be written *en nombre de todo el estudio.*[2] What weight attaches to this heading? Are the words to be taken in their most literal sense? Do they mean that Cervantes had some professional connexion with Lopez de Hoyos's school? To these questions we can give no satisfactory answer.

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[1] Rodríguez Marín conjectures (*Cervantes estudió en Sevilla*, pp. 20–5) that Cervantes went to the Jesuit school at Seville in 1564–5, and quotes in support of his view a passage from *El Coloquio de los Perros.* Tomas Gonzalez, once Professor of Rhetoric at Salamanca, assured Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 271) that he had found Cervantes's name registered as a student of philosophy in that university for two years, during which (or part of which) Cervantes lived in the Calle de Moros. The entry has not been seen since the time of Gonzalez. Da. Blanca de los Ríos de Lampérez (*¿ Estudió Cervantes en Salamanca ?* in *Del siglo de oro*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 141–94) believes that Cervantes studied at Salamanca, but would fix the date from about 1582 to 1584.

[2] *Revue hispanique* (Paris, 1899), vol. VI, pp. 508–9.

[3] Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña ó descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid* [*siglo XVI*], (Madrid, 1891), pp. 10–11.

[4] In the *Tabla* at the end of the volume edited by Lopez de Hoyos, Cervantes is referred to as 'mi amado discipulo'; on the verso of f. 147 (misprinted 138) he is called 'nuestro charo y amado discipulo'.

Cervantes was now long past the age when he might be expected to earn his own living, and, no doubt, he would willingly have earned it by schoolmastering, or by any other humble, honest occupation. He was not free to pick and choose. Though the elder Rodrigo de Cervantes seems to have owned

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 355 (item 21). Assuming that Cervantes was with his family at Madrid as early as 1561 (see p. 12, n. 2), Pérez Pastor suggests (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 351–2 and 357) that he studied at the Estudio de la Villa under Geronimo Ramirez in 1562–3, under Francisco del Bayo in 1567, and for a few months only under Lopez de Hoyos.

[2] This epigraph occurs on the verso of f. 157 of the volume edited by Lopez de Hoyos: 'La elegia que en nombre de todo el estudio el sobredicho [Miguel de Cervantes] compuso . . .'

(or, at least, to have had some interest in) houses at Seville, and though he had an occasional windfall like the modest inheritance from Elvira de Cortinas which came to him through his wife, his circumstances did not allow of his doing much for his children. The conditions under which Andrea de Cervantes had accepted Locadelo's gifts could scarcely fail to gall any honourable youth. Nothing could be more natural than that an upright young man, with a spice of adventure in his nature, should break away from such compromising surroundings, and seek to push his fortune abroad. Cervantes did this, and perhaps left Spain before his verses on Isabel de Valois appeared in print.[1]

III

We next hear of him in Italy.[2] How he made his way there is unknown: so is the exact date of his arrival. Long afterwards, he wrote that he had been *camarero* in Rome to Cardinal Giulio Acquaviva[1]; it is on record that Acquaviva was sent to Spain by Pius V on a special mission, that he reached Madrid on October 13, 1568,[2] and that his return passport was made out on December 2 of the same year.[3] But there is no reason to suppose that Acquaviva—not yet a cardinal[4]—was aware of Cervantes's existence at this time.[5] The first proof of Cervantes's

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[1] It seems that Lopez de Hoyos's *Historia* was not published till about the autumn of 1569. The *Tasa* is dated August 30, 1569: see Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña ó descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid* [*siglo XVI*] (Madrid, 1891), pp. 10–11.

Cervantes's elegiacs on Isabel de Valois will be found in *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, pp. 413–21.

[2] Gerónimo Morán, *Vida de Miguel Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid, 1867), pp. 134–5, prints a document ordering the arrest of a certain Myguel de Zerbantes who had wounded one Antonio de Sigura at Madrid, and had been sentenced to exile for ten years, after having his right hand chopped off by the public executioner. The document is dated September 15, 1569. There is nothing to identify Sigura's opponent with our Cervantes, and we have nothing to show that the condemned man fled to Italy. However, there are no chronological

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difficulties in the way of accepting the view that our Cervantes was the offender. This opinion is held by several writers, notably by Doña Blanca de los Ríos de Lampérez, *Del siglo de oro* (Madrid, 1910), pp. 147–8. A similar escapade, regarded as a personal reminiscence, is related of Don Fernando de Saavedra by Margarita in Cervantes's play *El gallardo español* (ff. 20 verso and 21 recto of *editio princeps*):

Quedè, si mal no me acuerdo,
en vna mala respuesta,
que dio mi bizarro hermano
a vn Cauallero de prendas.
El qual por satisfazerse
muy mal herido le dexa,
ausentòse, y fuesse a Italia,
segun despues tuue nueuas.

[1] The statement occurs in Cervantes's dedication of *La Galatea* (1585) to Abbot (afterwards Cardinal) Ascanio Colonna: '... Iuntando á esto el effecto de reuerēcia que hazian en mi animo, las cosas (que como en prophecia) oy muchas vezes dezir de V. S. Illustrissi. al cardenal de Aquauiua, siēdo yo su camarero en Roma ...'

[2] Ricardo de Hinojosa, *Los despachos de la diplomacia pontificia en España. Memoria de una misión oficial en el archivo secreto de la Santa Sede* (Madrid, 1896), vol. I, pp. 185–6.

[3] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 284. Pérez Pastor (*Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 364) makes the probable suggestion that the peremptory phrase—*vuelva allá*—printed by Navarrete should read *vuelve allá*.

[4] Acquaviva did not become cardinal till May 15, 1570.

[5] Pérez Pastor (*Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 358–61) assumes that Lopez de Hoyos was in great favour with Cardinal Espinosa, that he interested the cardinal in the young Cervantes, and thus contrived to introduce the latter into Acquaviva's household. The only basis for these assumptions is that in the following year Lopez de Hoyos

being in Italy occurs in a document (dated December 22, 1569)[1] which establishes, so far as common repute can do so, his *limpieza de sangre*, and it describes Cervantes as then living in Rome.[2] What took him there is not clear,[3] nor can we say precisely when he was in Acquaviva's household.[4]

It is no less difficult to discover the exact date

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dedicated to Espinosa the *Historia* which contained Cervantes's verses on the late queen. This is not enough to build a case on. It is true that Lopez de Hoyos dedicated two other works to Espinosa three years later (Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña* [*Siglo XVI*], pp. 28–30). But clearly this does not prove the existence of any special intimacy between prelate and schoolmaster.

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 11–16. As already noted (pp. 11, n. 4, and 12, n. 3), one of the witnesses called was Alonso Getino de Guzman, *alguacil* of Madrid; the other two witnesses were Pirro Boqui and Francisco Muçaqui, both Italians. Getino de Guzman and Boqui declared that they had known the elder Rodrigo de Cervantes and his family for eight years previous to December 22, 1569.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 11. 'Rodrigo de Çerbantes, andante en corte, digo que Miguel de Çerbantes, mi hijo e de doña Leonor de Cortinas, mi lejitima muger, estante en corte Romana, le conviene probar e averiguar como es hijo legitimo mio e de la dicha mi muger y quel, ni yo, ni la dicha mi muger, ni mis padres ni aguelos, ni los de la dicha mi muger hayan sido ni semos moros, judios, conversos ni reconciliados por el santo Oficio de la Inquisicion ni por otra ninguna justicia de caso de infamia, antes han sido e somos muy buenos cristianos viejos, limpios de todo raiz; a V. M. pido mande hacer informacion de los testigos que acerca de lo susodicho presentare . . .'

[3] M. Alfred Morel-Fatio (*Cervantes et les cardinaux Acquaviva et Colonna* in the *Bulletin hispanique*, Bordeaux, 1906, vol. VIII, p. 256) suggests that Cervantes enlisted as a supernumerary in Diego de Urbina's company towards the end of 1568.

[4] M. Paul Groussac (*Une Énigme littéraire. Le 'Don Quichotte' d'Avellaneda*, Paris, 1903, p. 40 n.) suggests that Cervantes did not enter Acquaviva's household till the latter became a cardinal (May 15, 1570). M. Morel-Fatio (*Bulletin hispanique*, vol. VIII, p. 256) concurs. Hence Cervantes's period of service would be somewhere between May 15, 1570, and July 21, 1574 (the date of Acquaviva's death).

of his enlistment in the Spanish army. His father gives it to be understood that his son was a soldier as early as 1568,[1] and Cervantes himself uses words which seem to confirm this statement.[2] If this be so, we are more than ever in the dark as to the period of Cervantes's service with Acquaviva. There is no independent testimony to show that he enlisted before the autumn of 1570,[3] and the record of his early service in the ranks is too fragmentary to be clear.[1] Did he take part in the expedition which failed to relieve Cyprus in September 1570?[2] Inferences may be drawn one way or the other from Cervantes's misty topography in *El Amante liberal*, but positive evidence is wanting.[3] There

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[1] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 315, and Sr. D. Pedro Torres Lanzas in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* (Número Extraordinario en conmemoración del centenario del Quijote), May 1905, p. 347. The former is easily accessible: I quote from the latter, who gives a fuller and apparently more correct transcript:

'Ilustre señor:—Rodrigo de cerbantes, estante en esta corte, digo: que á miguel de cerbantes, mi hijo, que al presente está cautibo en Argel, y á mí, como su padre, combiene aueriguar y probar como el dicho miguel de cerbantes, mi hijo, a seruido á su magestad de diez años á esta parte, hasta que abrá dos años que le cautibaron en la galera del sol en que benia carrillo de quesada; y sirvió en todas las ocaciones que en el dicho tiempo se ofrecieron en ytalia, y en la goleta, y tunez, y en la batalla nabal, en la qual salió herido de dos arcabuzazos, y estropeada la mano hizquierda, de la qual no se puede serbir; en lo qual lo hizo como muy buen soldado, sirviendo á su magestad.'

This declaration, made on March 17, 1578, implies that Cervantes enlisted not later than March 1568. Attention may here be drawn to the assertion in the king's *cédula* of December 5, 1576 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 33), that both Miguel and Rodrigo had served in Italy and Flanders. The information no doubt came from Doña Leonor de Cortinas. We have no confirmation of the statement that Cervantes served in Flanders.

[2] Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 312–13, and Torres Lanzas, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, May 1905, pp. 345–6. This *Informacion*, presented by Cervantes on May 21, 1590, is printed in full later (p. 76, n. 1). In it Cervantes speaks of having served for twenty-two years; accordingly he would have enlisted not later than May 1568. It is right to observe that other statements in this *Informacion* seem confused, and are perhaps a little misleading.

[3] Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 291–2; Torres Lanzas, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, May 1905, p. 349. One of the witnesses called

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by Cervantes's father in 1578 was the *alférez* Mateo de Santisteban, who deposed, in answer to the third interrogatory, that he had been at Lepanto with Cervantes, and that Cervantes had served in Diego de Urbina's company a year earlier. Another *alférez* testified at Algiers on October 10, 1580, that he had known Cervantes 'de diez años á esta parte' (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 332; Torres Lanzas, *loc. cit.*, p. 364), and, though he does not say that they made acquaintance in the ranks, this seems to be implied.

[1] Santisteban informs us (see previous note) that Cervantes belonged to Diego de Urbina's company, which formed part of Miguel de Moncada's regiment. The Captive, when telling the story of his adventures in the First Part of *Don Quixote* (chap. xxxix), refers to Diego de Urbina as 'a famous captain of Guadalajara'.

The chronology of this part of Cervantes's career is involved. If he first joined the Spanish army in 1568 as a soldier in Urbina's company, he cannot have joined in Italy, for Urbina's company was in Spain at that date, and did not leave for Italy till the summer of 1571, less than four months before Lepanto was fought: compare Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 18, with the *Información de testigos hecha por Juan Bautista Villanueva ante el Gobernador de Valencia en 1583, acerca de sus servicios en la batalla de Lepanto y en otras jornadas* printed by José María Torres in the *Revista de Valencia* (Valencia, 1880–1), vol. I, pp. 48–56. Yet we have evidence that Cervantes was in Rome before December 22, 1569. M. Morel-Fatio, however, suggests (*Bulletin hispanique*, vol. VIII, p. 256) that Urbina's company, while in Spain, had a depot in Italy. Sr. Cotarelo y Mori imagines (*Efemérides cervantinas*, pp. 42–3) that Cervantes joined Urbina's company before 1571, resigned, and rejoined it at this date, or that (more probably) he had served in some other company till 1571 when he procured a transfer to Urbina's company.

[2] Nicosia was stormed on September 9, 1570; the allied fleet had gone no further than Castelrosso on September 21.

[3] Sr. Cotarelo y Mori states (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 41) that Cervantes, 'according to his explicit words,' took part in Marcantonio Colonna's abortive relief expedition. He refers to the *Informacion*

is, however, no doubt that he was on board the *Marquesa* at the battle of Lepanto (October 7, 1570)[1]; that, though suffering from fever, he indignantly rejected the advice of his comrades to remain below, declaring that he had rather die for his God and his king than keep under cover, and begging to be placed in the most dangerous position[2]; that he was told off by the captain of a galley (the *Sancto Pietro*) to command a party of twelve men in a long-boat on the left wing of the Christian fleet,[3] and that he received three gunshot wounds—two in the chest,

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of May 21, 1590. This document does not mention Cyprus, but Cervantes's words, as given by Castañeda (see below, n. 2), imply that Lepanto was not his first battle.

[1] The *alférez* Santisteban (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 292; Torres Lanzas, *loc. cit.*, p. 349) testified that Cervantes was on board the *Marquesa.*

[2] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 317; Torres Lanzas, *loc. cit.*, p. 349. Santisteban's reply to the fourth interrogatory administered by Cervantes's father is as follows: '... saue y es verdad, que quando se rresconosció el armada del turco, en la dicha batalla nabal, el dicho miguel de cerbantes estaua malo y con calentura, y el dicho su capitan y este testigo e otros muchos amigos suyos le dixeron "que pues estaua enfermo y con calentura, que se estubiese quedo, abaxo en la cámara de la galera", y el dicho miguel de cerbantes respondió, "que qué dirian dél, e que no hacia lo que debia, e que mas queria morir peleando por dios e por su Rei, que no meterse so cubierta ...".' This is confirmed by another witness, the *alférez* Gabriel de Castaneda, who reports Cervantes as saying (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 318; Torres Lanzas, *loc. cit.*, p. 350): 'señores, en todas las ocaçiones que asta oi en dia se an ofrescido de guerra a su magestad y se me a mandado, e servido muy bien, como buen soldado; y ansi, agora, no aré menos, aunque esté enfermo e con calentura; mas vale pelear en servicio de dios e de su magestad, e morir por ellos, que no baxarme so cubierta.'

[3] Santisteban says (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 317; Torres Lanzas, *loc. cit.*, p. 349) that Cervantes 'peleó como baliente soldado ... en el lugar del esquife, como su capitan lo mandó y le dió horden con otros soldados'. Castañeda confirms this (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 318; Torres Lanzas, *loc. cit.*, p. 351): '... el dicho capitan le entregó el lugar del

and one which maimed his left hand for life.[1] The victorious fleet, under Don John of Austria, made

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esquife con doce soldados, adonde bió este testigo que peleó muy balientemente como buen soldado . . .'

[1] It is often said that Cervantes lost his left hand at Lepanto, and he is frequently represented in portraits and statues as having only one hand. But it is by no means clear that his left hand or arm was amputated. Perhaps the balance of evidence inclines the other way. No doubt the Duque de Sessa recommended Cervantes (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 314; Torres Lanzas, *Revista de Archivos*, &c., 1905, p. 346) on the plea that he had 'lost a hand' in the king's service. This statement was made on July 25, 1578, and Cervantes seems to confirm it in his *Informacion* of May 21, 1590 (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 312; Torres Lanzas, *Revista de Archivos*, &c., 1905, p. 345), by declaring that he had 'lost a hand' (perdio vna mano) at Lepanto. Yet this is not so decisive as might be imagined. In his interrogatories of March 17, 1578 (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 315; Torres Lanzas, *Revista de Archivos*, &c., 1905, p. 347), Cervantes's father says that his son's left hand was maimed (*estropeada la mano hizquierda*), and Cervantes, through the mouth of Mercury in the *Viage del Parnaso*, says (cap. I. vv. 215–16) very much the same thing—that he 'lost the movement of the left hand for the glory of the right'.

The actual facts of the case are given by Beltran del Salto y de Castilla, who, in answer to interrogatories administered to him at Madrid on April 1, 1578 (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 289; Torres Lanzas, *Revista de Archivos*, &c., 1905, p. 353), said that Cervantes's wounds deprived him of the full use of his left hand (*salió herido de una mano, de tal manera questá manco de ella y que este testigo le ha bisto que de la dicha mano hizquierda está manco, de tal manera, que no la puede mandar*). This is what we should guess from subsequent events. A one-handed private, unable to handle a gun readily, would scarcely have been re-engaged for active service. Cervantes, as we shall see, was re-engaged, was transferred to another regiment at a higher rate of pay, and took part in more than one expedition during the next four years. We may take it, then, that his left hand, though maimed, was not amputated.

Curiously enough, the misunderstanding as to Cervantes's wounds began in his lifetime. At Madrid, on November 9, 1576, a Valencian notary named Antonio Marco (who had been captured on the *Sol*) deposed that it was Cervantes's younger brother Rodrigo who had his left hand maimed at Lepanto: Antonio Marco said not a word to indicate that Miguel de Cervantes was mutilated (Pérez Pastor, for Messina. There, no doubt, Cervantes had his wounds attended to, and during his convalescence —which may have been passed elsewhere [1]— received several small grants in aid.[2] He was

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Documentos cervantinos, vol. I, pp. 45-6). But it is plain that Marco was either a bad observer or a worse witness. To judge from the king's *cédula* of December 5, 1576 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 33), Doña Leonor imagined that one of her sons had had a hand amputated, and that the other was crippled (*al uno dellos le cortaron una mano y al otro mancaron*); but her statement carries no weight, as she had not seen either of her sons since they went soldiering. Alonso Fernandez de Avellaneda, author of the spurious continuation of *Don Quixote* published in 1614, taunted Cervantes with having only one hand (see p. 185, n. 2); but no importance attaches to the jibe, for it is doubtful whether Avellaneda ever saw Cervantes. His information is obviously derived from Cervantes's description of himself in the preface to the *Novelas exemplares*, where, undoubtedly, he speaks of having lost his left hand at Lepanto through a gunshot wound (*Perdiò en la batalla Naual de Lepanto la mano yzquierda de vn arcabuçazo*). But against this must be set the formal statement in the *Informacion* of October 10, 1580 (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 326; Torres Lanzas, *Revista de Archivos*, &c., May 1905, p. 358): here Cervantes speaks positively of his hands (in the plural) being tied behind him (*mandandole . . . atar las manos atras*), and this is perfectly consistent with Beltran del Salto's statement. That Cervantes's left hand was not amputated seems proved by the fact that he himself describes it as being seized by the admiring student whom he met on the road from Esquivias to Madrid shortly before his death: see the Prologue to *Persiles y Sigismunda* quoted on p. 199, n. 2.

[1] The wounded men in Urbina's company are said to have passed their period of convalescence in Calabria: '. . . despues del dicho vencimiento la dicha armada de su magestad fue á la dicha ciudad de Mezina á donde fue curado el dicho proponente, y de allí fueron á Rijols en la Calabria, donde invernó dicha companya . . .' (José María Torres, *Aclaraciones á la vida de Cervantes*, in the *Revista de Valencia*, 1880–1, vol. I, p. 49). I presume 'Rijols' to be Reggio di Calabria.

[2] Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 294–5. The grants in aid (all made during the early part of 1572) were as follows: twenty *ducados* on January 15, twenty *ducados* on January 23, twenty *ducados* on March 9, and twenty-two *ducados* on March 17.

thought fit to return to duty on, or before, April 29, 1572,[1] at an increased rate of pay,[2] in Lope de Figueroa's regiment,[3] and, as evidence of a later date shows, he was drafted to Manuel Ponce de Leon's company,[4] stationed at Naples.

It has been thought that Cervantes's brother Rodrigo arrived in Italy before June 1572.[5] He was unquestionably in Naples soon afterwards. Both brothers would appear to have shared in the expedition to Corfu later in the year and in the operations before Navarino, to have witnessed the capture of Hamet's galley *The She-wolf* (October 7, 1572), and to have seen this son (or nephew) of the pirate Barbarossa torn to pieces by the teeth of his own slaves.[1] It is gathered from the official ledgers that Cervantes was quartered at Naples in February and March of 1573.[2] He and his brother Rodrigo assisted at the capture of Tunis[3] in the following autumn (October 8–10), under Don John of Austria, who retired, leaving behind him a small force commanded by Gabriel Sorbellone. Those soldiers of Figueroa's regiment who had served at Tunis are stated to have gone into garrison in Sardinia, whence (as it is alleged) they were transferred to Genoa at the request of Marcello Doria. We should expect Cervantes to have gone with them, but the chronology of these events is perplexing. We are informed that the Spanish troops from Sardinia did not reach Genoa till the spring of 1574, and were not removed to Naples till the following August.[1] Be that as it may, Cervantes's name reappears in the official ledgers at Naples in February and March of 1574.[2] During the summer of this year Sorbellone's position at Tunis was threatened. On August 24 Don John of Austria arrived at Naples to organize a relief expedition. Cervantes and his brother Rodrigo formed part of it. The expedition started too late; La Goleta (the citadel of Tunis)[3] had been carried by storm on August 22 (two days before Don

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[1] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 294. The official record shows that on, or before, April 29, 1572, it had been decided to transfer Cervantes to Figueroa's *tercio*: 'A 29 de dicho mes (abril de 1572) se ordenó á los oficiales de la armada que asienten en los libros de su cargo á Miguel de Cervantes tres scudos de ventaja al mes en el tercio de D. Lope de Figueroa en la compañía que le señalaren.' The last six words imply that the authorities had not yet settled upon the company to which Cervantes should be posted.

[2] See the phrase in the previous note: 'tres scudos de ventaja al mes.'

[3] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 294.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 294. 'En dicho dia (11 de hebrero de 1573 en Nápoles) se ordenó á los oficiales de la armada que libren á Miguel de Cervantes, soldado de la compañía de Don Manuel Ponce de Leon, diez scudos á buena cuenta de lo que se le debe.'

[5] Benedetto Croce, *Due illustrazioni al 'Viaje del Parnaso' del Cervantes* in the *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo en el año vigésimo de su profesorado* (Madrid, 1899), vol. I, p. 185 n. He quotes from the *Cedole di tesoreria* (June 1572), vol. CCCLXVII, pt. iii, f. 569: 'A R.co de Cervantes d. 4 tt. 2 si sono comandati pagar per sua provvisione,' and adds: 'Dal confronto col vol. 376 anno 1574, f. 625 risulta chiaro che si tratta di un *Rodorico* o *Rodrigo*.' It is possible that this entry may refer to Cervantes's brother, as Sr. Cotarelo affirms (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 47), but the identification is not established.

In the same note Signor Croce mentions the story that Cervantes was employed by the Regio Consiglio Collaterale at Naples as mace-bearer with a salary of three ducats a month. This statement was first made by Luigi Conforti, *I Napoletani a Lepanto: Ricerche storiche* (Napoli, 1886), pp. 25–7, and has become widely spread owing to its being repeated by Admiral Jean Pierre Edmond Jurien de la Gravière in *La Guerre de Chypre et la bataille de Lépante* (Paris, 1888), vol. II, p. 217. Signor Croce points out that the rumour arose from Conforti's misreading of the entries which he quotes: the mace-bearer's name was Michele Cerdant.

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[1] Cervantes's war-services and those of his brother are set out in his *Informacion* of May 1590: see p. 76, n. 1.

The death of Hamet is described, as by an eyewitness, in *Don Quixote,* Part I, chap. xxxix.

[2] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 294. The entry dated February 11, 1573, has already been quoted on p. 24, n. 4. The March entry (*Ibid.*, pp. 294–5) is as follows: 'A seis del dicho (marzo de 1573) se ordenó á los mismos (oficiales de hacienda de la armada) que libren á Miguel de Cervantes, soldado de D. Manuel Ponce de Leon, veinte scudos que pretende que le deben; constando ser asi, se le dan los recaudos necesarios para la cobranza dellos.'

[3] Cervantes vouches for the fact in his *Informacion* of May 21, 1590: see p. 76, n. 1. He is confirmed by his father (see p. 19, n. 1), as well as by Antonio Godinez de Monsalve and Beltran del Salto y de Castilla, who served with him at Tunis (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 318–19).

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[1] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 29. 'Por la serie de estos acontecimientos se comprende que desde fines de 1573 hasta principios de Mayo del año siguiente estuvo Cervantes con su tercio de guarnicion é invernada en la isla de Cerdeña, y que de alli fue trasportado al Genovesado en las galeras de Marcelo Doria para quedar en Lombardía á las órdenes de D. Juan de Austria: que á principios de Agosto, cuando este se embarcó en el puerto de Especia, llevó consigo aquel tercio á Nápoles y Mesina, y con sus mejores soldados reforzó las naves con que emprendió, aunque en vano, el socorro de la Goleta.'

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 295. 'A 15 de hebrero [año 1574] (en Nápoles) se ordenó á los oficiales que librasen á Miguel de Cervantes, soldado de la compañía de D. Manuel Ponce de Leon, treinta scudos á buena cuenta de su sueldo.'

'D. Juan de Austria &c. Licenciado Navas de Puebla (asesor de la armada) yo os ordeno y mando que de cualesquier dineros que estuvieren en vuestro poder de los procedidos de las condenaciones de cámara y gastos de justicia deis á Miguel de Cervantes treinta scudos que le mando librar, del cual tomareis su carta de pago, con la cual y la presente os serán rescibidos y pasados en cuenta. Fecha en Nápoles á 10 de marzo de 1574.=D. Juan de Austria.=Refrendada de Juan de Soto.'

[3] The garrison at La Goleta was commanded by Pedro Portocarrero. The name of his eldest son, Alonso Pacheco Portocarrero, is perplexingly associated with that of Cervantes's sister Magdalena.

John reached Naples), and Tunis itself fell on September 13. The news reached Don John on October 3, when he had gone no further than Trapani. There was nothing to be done except disembark the troops of the expeditionary force. Cervantes reappears on November 25, 1574, as a *soldado aventajado* in garrison at Palermo,[1] under the command of the Duque de Sessa y Terranova, then Viceroy of Italy.[2] Under this descendant of the Great Captain, Cervantes remained in Italy for another ten months, and used the time to good purpose. His prospects were unpromising. In the ordinary course of routine, he would not be qualified for promotion to the rank of captain till he was a *soldado aventajado* of ten years' standing, and, though he had seen much service, he was not yet an *alférez* or ensign. He was energetic in trying to push his way at Naples.[3] The evidence shows that he contrived to make interest with the most influential of his official superiors, that he succeeded in securing letters of recommendation from both Don John of Austria and the Duke of Sessa, and that he was granted leave of absence to enable him to return to Spain, and there press his claim to a captaincy in one of the companies then being raised for special service in Italy.[1]

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos,* vol. II, p. 24. The original document discovered by Sr. D. Claudio Pérez Gredilla has not, apparently, been published; the following summary was, however, communicated by Sr. Pérez Gredilla to Pérez Pastor, who prints it with an explanatory note (*Ibid.*, pp. 24, 373–4): 'En la cuenta del pagador de la armada Juan Morales de Torres de los años 1571 á 1574 y en la primera página del pliego 120 aparece una partida en la cual figura Miguel de Cervantes, soldado aventajado, cobrando con orden de Don Juan de Austria veinte y cinco escudos de á diez reales castellanos, los cuales le mandó pagar, á buena cuenta de lo que se le debia, el señor Duque de Sesa. Fecha en Palermo á quince de Noviembre de mil quinientos setenta y quatro.'

[2] This would appear to be the third duke, a man of ability, whom Philip II, in one of his moods of wan pleasantry, nicknamed the 'Duque de Seso'. He died on December 3, 1578.

[3] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 317; Torres Lanzas, *loc. cit.*, p. 349. In 1578

Santisteban speaks to having seen Cervantes two years and a half or three years earlier at Naples previous to his embarkation for Spain.

[1] Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 318–19; Torres Lanzas, *loc. cit.*, pp. 351 and 353. Castañeda, who was already a slave in Algiers when Cervantes joined him there, proves the existence of the 'cartas de su Alteça del señor don juan, para su magestad, en que le suplicaba le diese vna compañia de las que se hiciesen en españa para ytalia, pues hera hombre de meritos y servicios, porque este testigo las leyó en argel al tiempo que le cautivaron'. Beltran del Salto y de Castilla speaks to Cervantes's having letters from 'don juan y duque de Sesar para que su magestad le hiciese merced, ofresciéndose, de vna compañía'.

We have the testimony of Sessa himself given in writing on July 25, 1578 (Navarrete, pp. 313–14; Torres Lanzas, *loc. cit.*, pp. 346–7): 'Por hauerme pedido por parte y en nombre de miguel de cerbantes, que para que á su Magestad le conste de la manera que le a seruido, le conuiene que yo le dé fée dello, por la presente certifico y declaro: que ha que le conozco de algunos años á esta parte en seruicio de Su Magestad, y por informacion que dello tengo, sé y me consta que se halló en la batalla y rota de la Armada del Turco, en la qual, peleando como buen soldado, perdió una mano; y despues le ui seruir en las demas jornadas que huuo en Levante, asta tanto que por hallarse estropeado en seruicio de Su Magestad, pidió licencia al Señor Don Juan para venirse en Spaña á pedir se le hiziese merced; y yo entonces le di carta de recomendacion para Su Magestad y Ministros; y hauiendose embarcado en la Galera "Sol", fué preso de turcos y lleuado á argel, donde al presente está esclauo, hauiendo peleado antes que le captiuasen, muy bien, y complido con lo que debia, y de manera que assi por hauer [sido] captiuado en seruicio de Su Magestad, como por hauer perdido una mano en el dicho seruicio, meresce que Su Magestad le haga toda merced y ayuda para su rescate; y porque las fées, cartas y recaudos que traya de sus seruicios, los perdió

Accordingly—on September 20, 1575 (so we are told[1])—Cervantes and his brother Rodrigo left Naples on board the *Sol*, a galley commanded by Gaspar Pedro, and forming part of a flotilla under Sandro de Leiva. On September 26,[2] while separated from the main body of the Spanish force,[3] the *Sol* was suddenly beset off Les Saintes Maries[4] by three Turkish galleys[5] under an Albanian renegade known to the Spaniards as Arnaute Mami.[6] Those on board

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todos el dia que le hizieron esclauo, para que conste dello di la presente, firmada de mi mano, y sellada con el sello de mis armas y refrendada del Secretario infrascripto . . .'

[1] Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 165; Cotarelo, *Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 61.

[2] The date of the fight is given in the official record of Cervantes's ransom: see p. 50, n. 3.

[3] From a document in the library of the Academia de la Historia Sr. Cotarelo quotes (*Efemérides cervantinas*, pp. 63–4) a passage which goes to show that two other galleys—the *Mendoza* and the *Higuera*—also became separated from the rest of the Spanish squadron, and were attacked at the same time as the *Sol*.

[4] There are good (if not conclusive) reasons for thinking that Cervantes was captured near Les Saintes Maries. Dr. Julián Apraiz quotes (*Estudio histórico-crítico sobre las Novelas Ejemplares de Cervantes*, Vitoria, 1901, pp. 136–7) from the *Discursos genealogicos* (p. 74) appended to the first edition of Francisco Ruiz de Vergara y Alava's *Vida del illustrissimo Senor Don Diego de Anaya Maldonado* (Madrid, 1661), a sentence recording the death of the biographer's great-grandfather, Iuan Bautista Ruiz de Vergara Alava y Esquivel, who was killed on board the *Sol*: 'Murió peleando valerosamente junto á Marsella, en defensa de su galera, llamada el *Sol*, contra tres galeras de Turcos.' In a passage in *La Española inglesa*, which shows rather more minute topographical knowledge than we should expect from anybody who had never been in the neighbourhood, Cervantes refers to 'a place called "The Three Maries" which is on the French coast'.

[5] Navarrete gives the number inferentially (*Vida*, p. 356): it is stated positively in the passage quoted from Ruiz de Vergara in the previous note.

[6] It is not alleged by any eyewitness that Arnaute Mami was

the *Sol* fought bravely,[1] but numbers told. The attack was well conducted by Dali-Mami[2]; the captain of the *Sol* was killed, many of the Spaniards on board fell into the enemy's hands, and the galley itself was only saved from capture by the timely arrival of Leiva and his flotilla.[3]

IV

Cervantes, his brother Rodrigo, and the rest of the Spanish prisoners were carried off to Algiers. There Cervantes became the slave of Dali-Mami,[4]

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present at the attack on the *Sol*; but the assumption is made by Navarrete (*Ibid.*, p. 356), and is intrinsically likely, since, as far back as May 1574, Arnaute Mami had been restored to his post as *capitan de la mar* (*Ibid.*, p. 355). He is twice mentioned by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*, and again in *La Española inglesa.*

[1] See Ruiz de Vergara's statement on p. 29, n. 4. Sessa testifies in the same sense, but on hearsay (see p. 28, n. 1).

[2] Hernando de Vega, the witness quoted in the next note, mentions Dali-Mami as 'el que se halló en rrendir y tomar la dicha galera'; but it will be seen that his evidence is incorrect in details.

[3] See Juan Bautista Villanueva's *Informacion* in the *Revista de Valencia*, vol. I, pp. 48-56. Hernando de Vega states (Navarrete, p. 353; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 371) that he saw the *Sol* brought into Algiers: 'la dicha galera fué traída para argel donde este testigo la uido a ella.' This is contradicted by Castellano (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 352; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 364), who asserts that the *Sol* was saved by two other Spanish galleys: 'se perdio [Cervantes] en la galera de españa llamada del sol que los turcos ya tubieron rendido; y despues porque bieron venir otras dos la dexaron.' Castellano was not present, but his account is confirmed by four witnesses who appeared in Villanueva's case. Sr. Cotarelo y Mori reproduces (*Efemérides cervantinas*, pp. 64-5) an obviously imaginative description of the attack on the *Sol*, as related in the *Censo de Felipe II.*

[4] Juan de Valcazar, who served the same master as Cervantes, identifies him clearly (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 335; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 374): '. . . miguel de serbantes . . . y este testigo . . . son y

a lame Greek renegade who (as we have seen) had directed the attack on the *Sol*. The letters from Don John of Austria and the Duke of Sessa were found on Cervantes,[1] and gave an exaggerated idea of his importance. He was handcuffed, put in chains, and shut up in a dungeon.[2] But it is evident that this severity was subsequently much relaxed; for, though he suffered great hardships during his five years of captivity in Algiers, Cervantes is known to have spent some of his time in literary composition,[3] and he found opportunities of organizing at least four attempts to escape.

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fueron de vn patron que es del dicho arraez dalimami . . .' Cervantes also leaves no doubt on the point (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 321; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 355): 'IV ytem: si saben o an oydo decir que llegado cautivo en este argel, su amo, daliman arraez, renegado griego, le tubo en lugar de caballero principal, y como a tal le thenia encerrado y cargado de grillos y cadenas . . .'

[1] Gabriel de Castañeda and Beltran del Salto y de Castilla saw these letters while both were Cervantes's fellow-prisoners at Algiers: see p. 28, n. 1.

[2] Hernando de Vega confirms (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 337; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 371) Cervantes's statement (p. 30, n. 4) by saying that his master 'lo traxo aherrojado y cargado de hierros, y con guardias, siendo bexado y molestado todo a fin que se rrescatase y le diese buen rrescate por salir de thener y pasar mala y estrecha uida, como la suelen y acostumbran dar los moros y turcos á las semejantes personas quel dicho miguel de serbantes'. Other fellow-prisoners testify to the same effect: on December 1, 1580, a Barcelonese trader named Mateo Pasqual deposed to seeing Cervantes in Algiers 'con vna cadena al pie' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 63); and on December 9, 1580, a Portuguese named Francisco de Aguilar deposed to seeing Cervantes in Algiers 'con su argolla al pie' (*Ibid.*, p. 63).

[3] Dr. Antonio de Sosa, a fellow-prisoner of Cervantes in Algiers, declared this in writing on October 21, 1580: ' . . . que se ocupaba muchas vezes en componer versos en alabanza de nuestro señor y de

It is impossible to say how soon after his capture Cervantes made the first of these attempts—probably not till he had won the confidence of those about him, and this can scarcely have been before the spring of 1576. His conception was crude in its simplicity. He engaged a Moor to guide him and a group of his fellow-prisoners on foot to Oran. The party set out, the Moor deserted them on the road, the runaways were obliged to return to Algiers, Cervantes was put in irons again, and was more strictly guarded than before.[1] Early in the following year we find him

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su bendita madre y del santisimo sacramento y otras cosas santas y devotas, algunas de las quales comunicó particularmente conmigo, y me las enbio que las viese.' When he wrote these words, Sosa was himself imprisoned in chains (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 346 ; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 396).

[1] The *Informacion* drawn up at Algiers on October 10, 1580, describes the attempt in what we may take to be Cervantes's own words: '. . . deseando hazer bien y dar libertad a algunos cristianos, buscó un moro que a él y a ellos llevase por tierra a oran, y auiendo caminado con el dicho moro algunas jornadas, los dexó ; y ansi les fué forzoso volverse a argel, donde el dicho miguel de serbantes fué muy mal tratado de su patron, y de allí en adelante thenido con mas cadenas y mas guardia y enserramiento . . .' (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 321 ; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 355). The witness Juan de Valcazar (*Ibid.*, p. 334 and p. 374 respectively) mentions some of the persons who shared in this attempt to escape : '. . . las quales heran don francisco de meneses, capitan que fue en la goleta por su magestad, y el otro conosció, que se dezia, don beltran, y el alferez rrios, y el sargento navarrete, y otro cavallero que se dezia osorio, y otro hidalgo que se dezia castañeda, y otros muchos que por no saber sus nombres no los espresa . . .'

Navarrete errs in stating (*Vida*, p. 383) that this Don Francisco Meneses was ransomed in 1580 at the same time as Cervantes. He was released early in 1578 on his verbal promise to send Hassan a ransom of a thousand *escudos* from Spain. As some delay occurred in forwarding the money, Hassan detained Domingo Becerra (see p. 44) as security till the thousand *escudos* arrived. These, together taking an interest in the work of an Italian prisoner named Bartolomeo Ruffino, who was engaged in writing an account of the taking of La Goleta and Tunis: at some date previous to February 3, 1577, Cervantes furnished Ruffino with two complimentary sonnets,[1] thus beginning a practice of which he disapproved in theory. But no doubt his mind was chiefly occupied in weaving schemes to free himself and his companions in slavery. His family did what they could, and perhaps rather more than they ought, to raise money for his ransom,[2] but the sum

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with 240 *escudos* for Becerra's release were paid by Fray Juan Gil on June 29, 1580 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 387). Cervantes mentions Meneses in *El Trato de Argel*, Jornada iv (*Obras completas de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1863-4, vol. XII, p. 78).

According to evidence given at Madrid on November 9, 1576, by a former prisoner at Algiers named Antonio Marco (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 46), Cervantes had been transferred to Arnaute Mami's possession before March 1576, when Marco was released. If this were so, it might be thought that Arnauto Mami determined to have Cervantes under his personal observation after the attempt to reach Oran; but no great trust can be placed in Antonio Marco, whose evidence, where we can test it, is inaccurate in details.

[1] *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863-4), vol. VIII, pp. 457-8.

[2] The Cervantes family had moved in the matter previous to November 9, 1576: see Pérez Pastor (*Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 45-6 and more especially pp. 232-3), who proves the existence of an earlier document not yet discovered. On November 28, 1576, Doña Leonor de Cortinas, wrongly representing herself to be a widow, brought forward a surety for the sum of sixty *escudos* which she had been granted by the Consejo de Cruzada to help her in ransoming her sons—the amount to be repaid within a year, if not spent for this purpose (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 29-32); an order to pay her the sixty *escudos* was issued on December 5, 1576 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 33-5). The first document anticipates the fact recorded in the second. Pérez Pastor gives another instance of Doña Leonor's describing herself as a widow

which they got together fell short of the price set upon Cervantes by his owner. It was, however, enough to ransom Rodrigo de Cervantes,[1] and on August 24, 1577, Rodrigo left for Spain to execute a plan which he and his brother had concerted. Rodrigo was to arrange for the sending over of a frigate which should carry off the prisoners, and, when he sailed from Algiers in August 1577,[2] he took with him letters from two captive Knights of St. John who warmly recommended the project to the viceroys of Valencia and the Balearic Islands.[3]

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on August 25, 1582, nearly three years before her husband's death (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 81): he assumes (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 255) that the misstatement was made with a view to awakening sympathy.

[1] Cervantes himself describes the circumstances in a clause of his *Informacion* drawn up at Algiers on October 10, 1580 (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 321–2; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 355): 'en el año de quinientos setenta y siete auiendoles sus deudos enviado dineros para su rrescate y no pudiendo acordarse con su patron, porque le thenia por hombre de mucha calidad, deseando seruir a dios y a su magestad y hazer bien á muchos cristianos principales, caballeros, letrados, sacerdotes que al presente se hallavan cautivos en este argel, dió horden como vn hermano suyo que se llama rrodrigo de servantes, que deste argel fué rrescatado el mes de agosto del mesmo año de los mesmos dineros dichos del dicho miguel de serbantes, de su rrescate, pusiese en horden y enviase de la plaza de valencia y de mallorca y de ybiça, vna fragata armada para llevar en españa los dichos cristianos. . . .'

Rodrigo's ransom amounted to 300 *escudos* (see the *Relación de la petición que doña Leonor Cortinas hizo al Rey*, &c., printed in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, December 1883, p. 423).

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 45 and 380–1. Rodrigo seems to have reached Jávea on August 29, and Valencia on September 1, 1577.

[3] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 322; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 355. Cervantes describes the arrangement as follows: '. . . y para mejor efetuar esto se favoresció del favor de don antonio de toledo y de francisco de valencia, caballeros del abito de san juan, que entonces estavan en este argel cativos, los quales le dieron [a Rodrigo de Cervantes] cartas

The preliminary preparations were carried out with skill and secrecy.[1] Not far from the shore, some three miles east of Algiers, was a garden belonging to Hassan, *alcalde* of the city.[2] Hassan's gardener was a Navarrese named Juan. Cervantes enlisted Juan in the good cause. In the garden they dug a cave, and, by twos and threes, introduced into it some fourteen or fifteen Christian slaves[3] who were fed with the help of a Spaniard known by the nickname of 'El Dorador'. The conspirators had begun work long before Rodrigo's departure, and some of them had been in the cave for six months[4] when Cervantes joined them there on or about September 20.[5] All seemed to be in good train.

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para los viso-rreyes de valencia y mallorca y ybiça, encargandoles y suplicandoles favoresciesen el negocio.'

[1] The details given by Cervantes in his *Informacion* of October 10, 1580, are supplemented by Diego de Haedo in his *Topographia, e historia general de Argel* (Valladolid, 1612), ff. 184-5.

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 184 verso: 'el jardin del Alcayde Asan renegado Griego, que està hàzia Leuante como tres millas de Argel.'

[3] Cervantes says of himself—'dió horden como catorze cristianos de los principales que entonces avia en argel cativos, se escondiesen en vna cueba' (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 322; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 355). Haedo speaks (*op. cit.*, f. 184 recto) of 'ciertos Christianos cautiuos . . . que seriã por todos quinze'; he includes Cervantes in his reckoning.

[4] This is Cervantes's statement (Navarrete, *Vida*, f. 322; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 355): 'algunos de los dichos cristianos estuvieron escondidos en ella [la cueva] seis meses, y otros menos . . .'

[5] So it may be gathered from Cervantes's assertion (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 322; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-6): '. . . ocho dias antes del termino en que la fragata avía de venir, el dicho miguel de serbantes se fué á encerrar en la cueba con los demas.' Haedo says of the ship (*op. cit.*, f. 184 verso): 'a los vltimos de Setiembre salio de Mallorca, y tomò su camino para Argel, do llego a los veynte y ocho del mismo mes.'

Captained (as we are told) by an experienced Mallorcan sailor named Viana, who had himself been a slave in Algiers and knew the coast well,[1] a Spanish frigate approached the land at midnight on September 28.[2] As the rescuers were about to put ashore they were seen by some Moors who chanced to be passing by; the Moors raised an alarm, and the frigate made away to sea.[3] It returned, however, on September 30, and on this occasion some of those on board appear to have landed.[4] But the propitious moment had gone by. Meanwhile, the plotters had been betrayed by 'El Dorador', who turned traitor and peached to Hassan Pasha, Dey of Algiers; 'El Dorador' led a party of armed men to the garden, and those in hiding were seized, as well as some who had landed from the frigate.[1] As Cervantes himself records, he at once shouted out: 'None of these Christians who are here is to blame in this affair, for I was the sole contriver, and the man who persuaded them to escape.'[2] Under volleys of insults, Cervantes was led pinioned before Hassan, who threatened him with torture and death unless he revealed the details of the plot. The prisoner held to his story that he alone was responsible. Finding him indifferent to menaces, the Dey spared Cervantes's life, but (it is stated) bought him from his master, and placed him in strict confinement. Perhaps it was after this scene that Hassan made the remark ascribed to him by Haedo: 'So long as I have the maimed Spaniard in my keeping, my Christians, ships—aye, and the whole city—are safe'.[1] The gardener Juan served as scapegoat: he was hung up by one foot and thus suffocated.[2]

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[1] Haedo, *op. cit.*, f. 184 recto: 'Este concierto hizieron con vn Christiano Mallorquin, q̃ entonces de Argel yua rescatado ; que se dezia Viana, hombre platico en la mar, y costa de Berberia . . .'

[2] See the date given by Haedo, as quoted in the penultimate note.

[3] Cervantes says (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 322 ; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 356): 'por faltar el ánimo á los marineros y no querer saltar en tierra á dar aviso á los que estauan escondidos, no se efectuó la huida.' Haedo writes (f. 184 verso): 'Pero fue la desuentura, que al mismo punto y momento q̃ la fragata, o bergantin, ponia la proa en tierra, acertaron a passar ciertos Moros por alli, que quanto hazia obscuro diuisaron la barca, y los Christianos a ellos: y començaron luego los Moros dar vozes, y apelidar a otros, diziendo, Christianos, Christianos, barca, barca, como los del vaxel vieron y oyeron esto, por no ser descubiertos, fueron forçados hazerse luego a la mar, y boluerse por aquella vez sin hazer algun efeto.' Cristobal de Villalon gives a slightly different version ; he states (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 336 ; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 383) that the rescuers mistook a fisherman's boat for something more dangerous, and consequently retreated.

[4] Antonio de Sosa speaks (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 342 ; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 394) of the second attempt made by the rescue-party: '. . . lo supe de marineros que con la misma fragata vinieron, que captivaron despues, y me contaron por estenso como vinieron dos vezes, y la causa de su temor ; y como por poco no se efetuó una cosa de tanta onra y seruicio de dios.' Cervantes gives the date as 'el ultimo de setiembre', and Haedo (*op. cit.*, f. 184 verso) confirms this: 'el dia de san Geronymo ; q̃ son treynta de Setiẽbre.' So, too, does Sosa—'el dia de san gerónimo, postrero de setiembre'.

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[1] Haedo, *op. cit.*, f. 185 recto: 'hizo el guardian Baxi, lo que el Rey le mandò, y lleuando consigo, hasta ocho o diez Turcos a cauallo, y otros 24. a pie y los mas con sus escopetas y alfanjes, y algunos con lanças: fueron con tan buena guia (como otro Iudas yua delante) al jardin: y prẽdiẽdo luego al jardinero fuerõse a la cueua, q̃ el falso Iudas les mostro, y haziẽdo salir della los Christianos los prendierõ luego a todos, y particularmẽte maniatarõ a Miguel Ceruãtes vn hidalgo principal de Alcala de Henares q̃ fuera el autor deste negocio y era por tãto mas culpado . . .'

[2] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 323; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 356: 'y ansi en tanto que los moros los maniatauan, el dicho miguel de serbantes dixo en voz alta, que los turcos y moros le oyeron: "ninguno destos cristianos que aqui estan tiene culpa en este negocio, porque yo solo e sido el autor dél y el que los a ynduzido á que se huyesen".'

This is a striking story, which would be incredible if it were not fully corroborated. It is strange that so many prisoners could have been hidden for seven months without their being missed. It is strange that Cervantes should have been able to feed them there for this length of time without being detected. It is strange that he had the means to purchase the large supplies necessary for such a purpose, for we know that he had to clothe and feed himself, and that he was hard set to do this.[3] But, strange as the circumstances may be, they are related by Cervantes himself, and his testimony is amply confirmed by a dozen credible witnesses. We must therefore accept this version of events as essentially true, and can only speculate as to Hassan's reasons for sparing his captive's life. Those who record Hassan's clemency in this case are also those who describe him as an ogre.[1] Was his cupidity even greater than his cruelty? Did he spare Cervantes, hoping to obtain an exceptionally high ransom for him? Was he moved by a genuine admiration for the courage of his captive? Was he, in fact, less black than Spanish fancy painted

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[1] Cervantes (*Ibid.*, pp. 324 and 356) says that Hassan placed him 'en su baño cargado de cadenas y hierros con intencion todauia de castigarle'. Haedo's account (f. 185 recto) is that Hassan wished to entrap Cervantes into compromising Fray George Oliuar, the Mercenarian monk: 'y como con todas sus amenazas, nunca otra cosa pudiesse sacar de Miguel Ceruantes, sino que el, y no otro fuera el autor deste negocio (cargandose como hombre noble a si solo la culpa) embiole a meter en su baño, tomandole tambien por esclauo, aunque despues a el, y à otros tres o quatro huuo de boluer por fuerça, á los patrones cuyos eran . . . De las cosas que en aquella cueua sucedieron en el discurso de los siete meses que estos Christianos estuuieron en ella, y del cautiuerio, y hazañas de Miguel de Ceruantes se pudiera hazer vna particular hystoria. Dezia Asan Baxà Rey de Argel; que como el tuuiesse guardado al estropeado Español tenia seguros sus Christianos, baxeles y aun a toda la ciudad: tanto era lo que temia las traças de Miguel de Ceruantes, . . . y el remedio q̃ tuuo para assegurarse del, fue cõpralle de su amo por 500. escudos en q̃ se auia cõsertado, y luego le acerrojo, y le tuuo en la carcel muchos dias . . .'

[2] Haedo, *Topographia*, f. 185 recto: 'Finalmente el jardinero fue ahorcado por vn pie, y murio ahogado de la sangre. Era de nacion Nauarro, y muy buen Christiano.'

[3] This is disclosed in the evidence given at Madrid on December 19, 1580, by Francisco de Aguilar (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. 1, p. 68): '. . . sabe que quedó [Cervantes] a deber más, mas no

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se acuerda qué tantos, a mercaderes e personas que iban a la dicha cibdad de Argel què se los habian prestado para comer porque el moro que le tenia cautivo no le daba de comer ni vestir . . .' Rodrigo de Chaves testified in the same sense at the same place a day earlier (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 67): 'sabe este testigo . . . que quedó el dicho Miguel de Çerbantes a deber mas de mill reales, los quales le habian prestado algunos mercaderes christianos, que iban a la dicha cibdad, para comer y otras cosas para pasar su cautiverio, porque el moro que le tenia cautivo no le daba de comer en todo el tiempo que fue cautivo . . .'

[1] *Don Quixote,* Part 1, chapter xl. Cervantes described Hassan in his *Informacion* at Algiers on October 10, 1580: 'el Rei Haçan hera tan cruel que por solo huirse un cristiano, é porque alguno le encubriese ó favoresciese en la huida, mandaua ahorcar vn hombre, ó por lo menos cortarle las orejas y las narices' (Navarrete, *Vida,* p. 323; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 356). Alonso Aragonés testified at Algiers that no one expected Cervantes to escape alive from Hassan's clutches: 'que si el rrey le auía á las manos, no escaparía con la vida, ó por lo menos syn orejas y narizes, por ser la condición del dicho rrey tan cruel . . .' (Navarrete, *Vida,* pp. 330–1; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, pp. 361–2). Sosa thought Cervantes's good fortune extraordinary: 'sin duda él escapó de una buena, porque pensamos todos le mandase matar el rrey' (Navarrete, *Vida,* p. 343; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 394).

him? To these obvious questions we can give no reply.

It is possible that Rodrigo de Cervantes took with him to Spain the appeal in verse which his brother wrote to Mateo Vazquez.[1] However these tercets were sent, Cervantes can scarcely have expected them to have much practical effect. They had none. During the five ensuing months, Cervantes was kept manacled by Hassan, and had leisure to mature another plan of escape. Early in March 1578, while still imprisoned, he secretly dispatched a messenger to Oran with letters addressed to acquaintances there, and a petition to Martin de Córdoba, commander of the Spanish garrison there. Cervantes urged that spies, or confidential agents, should be sent to Algiers to help him and three of his fellow-prisoners to get away.[2] His messenger was arrested near Oran, was sent back to Algiers, and brought before Hassan who, on seeing the letter, sentenced the bearer to impalement, and Cervantes to two thousand blows. The Moor met death stoically. The punishment seems to have been remitted in Cervantes's case[1]: we are not told why.

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[1] *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863-4), vol. VIII, pp. 449-56.

[2] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 324; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-7. Cervantes describes the circumstances as follows: 'auiendole el rrey mandado meter en su baño cargado de cadenas y hierros con intencion todauia de castigarle, al cabo de cinco meses, el dicho miguel de serbantes, con el mesmo zelo del seruicio de dios é de su magestad y de hazer bien á cristianos, estando ansi encerrado envió vn moro á oran, secretamente, con carta al señor marqués don martin de cordoba, general de oran y de sus fuerças, y á otras personas principales, sus amigos y conoscidos de oran, para que le enviasen alguna espia ó espias, y personas de fiar que con el dicho moro viniesen á argel y le llevasen á él y á otros tres caballeros principales que el Rei en su baño thenia.'

We have no further news of him till October 1578, when Cervantes signed a petition in favour of a saintly Mercenarian monk, Fray George Olivar, who was held as hostage in Algiers.[2] Another year had almost passed before Cervantes found a fresh opportunity of planning a dash for Spain. By September 1579, he had fallen in with a renegade from Granada—the Licentiate Giron, known as Abdaharraman. The fact that Giron, like 'El Dorador', responded to advances by professing his wish to revert to Christianity did not suffice to inspire confidence[3]; but preliminary inquiries satisfied

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[1] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 324; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 357. Cervantes's words are: '. . . el dicho moro, llevando las dichas cartas á orán, fué tomado de otros moros á la entrada de orán, y sospechando del mal por las cartas que le hallaron, le prendieron y le traxeron á este argel, á Haçan Baxá, el qual, vistas las cartas y viendo la forma y nombre del dicho miguel de serbantes, á el moro mandó empalar, el qual murió con mucha constancia, sin manifestar cosa alguna; y al dicho miguel de cerbantes mandó dar dos mil palos.'

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 234–7.

[3] Cervantes puts the facts thus (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 324–5; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 357): '. . . despues en el año de mil é quinientos y setenta y nueve, en el mes de setiembre, estando en este argel vn rrenegado de nasción español, y que dezía que su padre hera de osuna, y él ser natural de granada, y siendo cristiano se llamaba el licenciado girón, el cual se uino á hacer moro á esta tierra de argel, y en moro se llamaba abdahá-rramen; entendiendo el dicho miguel de serbantes quel dicho rrenegado mostraua arrepentimiento de lo que avía fecho en hazerse moro, y deseo de bolverse á españa, por munchas vezes le exortó y animó á que se bolviese á la fee de nuestro señor jesucristo; y para esto hizo con Onofre Ejarque, mercader de valencia que entonces se hallava en este argel, diese dineros, como dió más de mill e

Cervantes as to Giron's good faith,[1] and finally the pair arranged with two Valencian traders in Algiers —Onofre Exarque and Baltasar de Torres[2]—for the purchase of an armed frigate which should rescue sixty of the chief prisoners. The frigate was bought, and success seemed assured, when the scheme was wrecked through the perfidy of a certain Doctor Juan Blanco de Paz, a native of Montemolín, who was said to have been a Dominican at Salamanca. For reasons unfathomable, Blanco de Paz disclosed the plot to a Florentine renegade named Cayban, and later on to Hassan.[3] Hassan resolved to wait till the conspirators committed themselves further; the plotters, however, discovered that he had wind of

trezientas doblas para que comprase vna fragata armada, persuadiéndole que ninguna otra cosa podía hazer más honrosa, ni al seruicio de dios y de su magestad más acepta, lo qual ansí se hizo; y el dicho rrenegado compró la dicha fragata de doze bancos y la puso á punto, governándose en todo por el consejo y orden del dicho miguel de serbantes . . .'

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[1] Luis de Pedrosa assured Cervantes of Giron's trustworthiness (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 338; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 387): '. . . este dicho testigo le rrespondió que el dicho renegado hera persona de autoridad y tenia buenas prendas demas de tener buenos propositos . . .'

[2] Alonso Aragonés mentions Onofre Exarque and Baltasar de Torres as sharing in the plot (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 331; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 362). What part Torres played is not clear. The money (1,300 *doblas*) was supplied by Exarque.

[3] Cervantes tells the story in these words (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 325; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 357): '. . . estando todo este negocio á punto y en tan buenos términos, que sin falta subcediera como estaua hordenado, el negocio fué descubierto y manifiesto al rrey Haçan, que hera deste argel, é según fama pública y notoria se lo enbió á dezir por Cayban, renegado florentín, y después en persona se lo confirmó el doctor juan blanco de paz, natural de la villa de montemolín, junto á el Llerena, que dizen auer sido frayle profeso de la horden de santo domingo en santisteban de salamanca . . .'

their plans, and Exarque, alarmed for his own safety, tried to get Cervantes out of the way by offering to pay his ransom.[1] Cervantes reassured the nervous trader, and went into hiding at a friend's.[2] He was soon missed, but, on being called by the town crier, gave himself up. With his hands tied behind his back, and a halter round his neck to remind him that he was near the gallows, Cervantes faced Hassan's cross-examination. He followed his customary tactics, assured the Dey that the coming of the frigate was unknown to any one then in Algiers, and that he had never had any accomplices—except four Gentlemen of Quality who had since got free. His story was apparently improvised without any close relation to facts, but help came to him from the enemy's camp. A Murcian renegade[3] named Morato Raez Maltrapillo intervened in his favour, and perhaps this intercession, together with the gallant effrontery of Cervantes's replies,[1] saved him again from death. But he was clearly dangerous, and Hassan kept him in irons for the next five months. For the rest, Giron was exiled to Tetuan,[2] and Blanco de Paz, after a bullying attempt to place the burden of his own treachery on Domingo de Becerra,[3] was suitably rewarded[4] with a gold *escudo* and a pot of butter.[5]

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[1] According to Cervantes, Exarque feared the possibility of revelations being made under torture, and, as much for his own sake as for the prisoner's, 'cometió y rrogó y persuadió á el dicho miguel de serbantes se fuese á españa en vnos navíos que estauan para partir y que él pagaría su rescate' (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 326; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 358).

[2] The friend was Diego Castellano who says (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 332; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 367): '. . . este testigo le tuuo escondido al dicho miguel de serbantes en cierta banda secreta y le fué auisar lo que pasaua . . .'

[3] The evidence of Diego Castellano (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 332; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 367) is that Cervantes 'se atreuió a ir delante del rrey, . . . y asi se puso en las manos de vn arraez muy grande amigo del rrei, que se dice moro atarraez maltrapillo, renegado español . . .' Possibly the name of Zoraida's father in the Captive's story, and the allusion to the renegade who read her letters, are reminiscences of this episode.

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[1] Alonso Aragonés speaks (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 331 ; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 362) of Cervantes 'dando tales salidas á las preguntas quel rrey le hazía, quel dicho rrey quedó confuso y satisfecho, sin poder averiguar la uerdad, la qual él ya sauía por rrelación del dicho juan blanco de paz'.

[2] See Juan de Valcazar's testimony (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 334 ; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 375): 'lo supo del propio rrenegado español, que hera su amigo y no le thenia nada encubierto ; y sobre ello fue desterrado de argel, y asi se fue para el rreyno de fez, y está en el dicho tituan.'

[3] Rodrigo de Chaves affirms (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 333 ; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 369) that Blanco de Paz, with whom the witness had formerly been on intimate terms, tried to throw the blame on Domingo Becerra, 'amenazandole que le auia de cruzar la cara porque él hera el que auia quitado la libertad a él y a los demas, lo qual parescio despues ser uerdad, quel dicho juan blanco hera el que lo auia manifestado al dicho rrey y no el dicho dotor bezerra . . .'

[4] Alonso Aragonés (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 330 ; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 361) speaks as follows : 'se supo por pública boz y fama que vn juan blanco de paz que este testigo á oydo dezir fué frayle de santo domingo, profeso en santisteban en salamanca, lo auía descubierto y que le auían dado vn escudo de oro y vna jarra de manteca . . .'

[5] The sequence of events is related by Cervantes in his *Informacion* (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 326–7 ; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 358) : 'á cabo de poco tiempo el rrei mandó con público pregón buscar á el dicho miguel de serbantes que se auía escondido hasta uer el movimiento que el rrei hazía, so pena de la vida á quien le tuviese escondido. . . .'

'. . . viendo el dicho miguel de serbantes el cruel bando que contra quien le tuviese escondido se avia hechado, por respecto que no viniese mal a un cristiano que le thenia escondido, y themiendo

Cervantes's trials in Algiers were coming to an end. On May 29, 1580, Antonio de la Bella and Juan Gil, two Trinitarian monks, landed in Algiers,[1] and began negotiations to secure the release of some of the captives. By August 3 a group of 108 prisoners were ransomed,[2] and started with Antonio de la Bella on their return to Spain.[3] Juan Gil remained behind to bargain with Hassan, and by September 15 he had ransomed seven more prisoners.[4] The ransoming was, of course, a question of money, and the Trinitarians seem, as a rule, to have gone on the principle of freeing as many

tambien que si él no parescia, el rrei buscaria otro a quien atormentar o de quien saber la verdad del caso, luego de su propia voluntad se fué a presentar ante el rrei, e que amenasandole el dicho rrei con muchos tormentos, que le discubriese la verdad de aquel caso y que gente llevaua consigo, y mandandole por mas atemorisarle, poner vn cordel a la garganta y atar las manos atras, como que le querían ahorcar, el dicho miguel de serbantes nunca quiso nombrar ni condenar a alguno, diziendo siempre al Rey, con mucha constancia, quél fuera el autor y otros quatro caballeros que se auian ydo en libertad, los quales auian de ir con él, y que si mas gente avia de llevar, que ninguno lo sabia ni avia de saber hasta el mesmo dia; por lo cual el dicho rrei se yndignó mucho contra él, biendo quan diferente respondia de lo que le estaua ynformado por el dicho doctor juan blanco; y ansi lo mandó meter en la cárcel de los moros que estaua en su mesmo palacio y mandó con gran rrigor le tubiesen á buen recaudo, en la qual carcel le tubo cinco meses con cadenas y grillos, donde pasó muchos trauajos, con yntencion de lleuarle á constantinopla . . .'

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 248. They brought with them 190,000 *maravedis* granted for the ransoming of Christians on August 31, 1579, and paid over to Fray Juan Gil on September 4 of that year (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 63–9).

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 248.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 248. They landed in a storm at the Grao de Valencia on August 5, 1580.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 248.

prisoners as possible with the sums entrusted to them. Thus the cheapest slave was likely to be released soonest. Cervantes must have deplored Hassan's high estimate of him when, on September 3, he was called upon to witness a document relating to the release of a prisoner who lived with him—Diego de Benavides, whose price was fixed at 250 *escudos*.[1] Twice that sum was asked for Cervantes. It was not forthcoming; the amount painfully got together by the Cervantes family (3,300 *reales*),[2] though increased by a charitable gift

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 56–7, 240, 249.

[2] The efforts of Cervantes's family to secure his release may be briefly recorded. On November 28, 1576, Doña Leonor de Cortinas, accompanied by her guarantor Alonso Getino de Guzman (see p. 12, n. 3), stated that the Consejo de Cruzada had advanced her 60 *escudos* on her undertaking to refund the money within a year if, during the interval, it had not been applied to the ransom of Miguel and Rodrigo, both of whom were then prisoners in Algiers (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 29–32). She must have had private information that her petition had been favourably received, for this conditional grant of 60 *escudos* was not officially announced till December 6, 1576 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 33-5). By June 29, 1578, Cervantes's parents and his sister Magdalena had deposited 1,077 *reales* with the Mercenarian Fray Geronimo de Villalobos, to whom Andrea also undertook to pay 200 *ducados*—the whole to be devoted to ransoming Miguel (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 53–5), as Rodrigo had been released the year before (see p. 34). Villalobos, it was agreed, should entrust the money to a Valencian trader named Hernando de Torres, who undertook to effect the ransom, and to pay whatever additional sum might be required for the purpose. Evidently the project miscarried, for no more is heard of it.

At some date previous to November 30, 1578, backed by a *certificacion* of the Duque de Sessa and by other witnesses, Doña Leonor de Cortinas (whose name is wrongly given in the *consulta* as 'Contreras') applied for a *privilegio* to export from Valencia to Algiers goods to the value of 8,000 ducados ('ocho mil ducados de mercadurias o la cantidad que vuestra magestad fuere servido'). The Consejo de Guerra recomof 250 *reales* from Francisco Caramanchel's fund and by a grant of 250 *reales* from the Trinitarian

mended her for a *privilegio* up to the amount of 2,000 *ducados* (*Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, December 31, 1883, pp. 423–4). Her object was to raise money by selling this *privilegio* to a practical trader, and apply the amount towards ransoming Miguel de Cervantes. On December 6, 1578, a *real cédula* to the Duque de Nájera, Captain-General of Valencia, gave effect to the recommendation of the Consejo de Guerra (*Ibid.*, p. 424). Doña Leonor, however, was unable to find security, and, on March 5, 1579, the *privilegio* was prolonged for a period of six months (*Ibid.*, p. 425). Another *real cédula* (August 19, 1579) granted a further extension of the *privilegio* for six months, on the strength of Doña Leonor's plea that she was a widow whose poverty prevented her from raising the 2,000 *ducados* necessary to buy the goods for export (*Ibid.*, pp. 425–6). For one reason or another she was unable to utilize this *privilegio* till some years after Miguel de Cervantes was ransomed (1580). On August 25, 1582, she signed a power of attorney authorizing Juan Fortunyo of Valencia to dispose of the *privilegio* to one of his fellow-traders in that city (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 81–2), but this plan evidently came to nothing. Strictly speaking, the *privilegio* had lapsed, as the conditions on which it had been granted were unfulfilled; still it seems to have been revived, and another extension of six months was granted on August 11, 1584 (Supplement to the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, March 15, 1872, p. 4). By the following December 13, Doña Leonor had sold her interest in the *privilegio* to Francisco de Laguiar; by December 14, Laguiar had chartered a boat called the *Sancta Maria y Sent Nicolau* to make the journey to Algiers under the command of its owner Dimete Leon, and by December 24 goods (mostly cloth) to the value of 2,125 *livres reales* (de Valencia) were on board (*Ibid.*, p. 7). So much for Doña Leonor's experiences as a trader.

Meanwhile, her experiences in other directions were scarcely less harassing. On February 28, 1579, the Consejo de Cruzada called upon her to refund the 60 *escudos* (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 47–8) granted conditionally on December 5, 1576. On March 16, 1579, she filed a reply stating that 30 *escudos* had gone towards ransoming Rodrigo, while the other 30 had been entrusted to Villalobos, as a contribution to Miguel's ransom: she pleaded for a prolongation of time on the ground of poverty, and on the same day an extension of three or four months was granted (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 49–50). On March 24, 1579, she asked for a further extension of four months, stating that she expected her son to be ransomed very

Order, fell short of the price demanded by about 2970 *reales* or 220 *escudos*.[1] Juan Gil made special efforts to release the prisoners who belonged to Hassan, and he redoubled these efforts now that Hassan's period of office in Algiers was rapidly drawing to a close. Hassan's appointment as Dey

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shortly (*con brevedad*, a phrase to which Cervantes himself was much addicted), and the Consejo de Cruzada seems to have acceded to her petition (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 51–2). On March 28, Doña Leonor requested that the previous *cédula* should be returned to her so that she might transfer the 30 escudos from the Mercenarians to the Trinitarians (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 53–4). Her prayer must have been granted, for on July 31, 1579, the Trinitarians Fray Juan Gil and Fray Anton de la Bella received 250 *ducados* from Doña Leonor, and 50 *ducados* from her daughter Andrea (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 55–9 and 60–2). See also Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 202.

[1] Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 371) makes up the amount, approximately, with the following items:—

1a.	La madre y hermana de Cervantes habian entregado para su rescate 300 ducados, que á 11 reales hacen	3300 rs.
2a.	Fue ayudado con la limosna de Francisco Caramanchel, doméstico de Don Iñigo de Cárdenas Zapata, del consejo de S. M., con 50 doblas, que son .	250 rs.
3a.	De la limosna general de la órden fue ayudado con otras 50 doblas	250 rs.
4a.	Se buscaron prestados entre mercaderes 200 escudos, que á 135 ásperos cada una hacen 29700 ásperos, y por consiguiente	2970 rs.
	Total .	6770 rs.

Pérez Pastor points out (*Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 251–2) that, in the second item above, Navarrete's condensation of a phrase in Cervantes's ransom-certificate is somewhat misleading. After 'Caramanchel' the words should read—'de que es patron el muy illustre señor don Iñigo', &c. Caramanchel had died previous to this date, leaving a sum which produced 90,000 *maravedis* yearly: according to the terms of his will the interest was to be applied to ransoming prisoners, and to helping orphan spinsters to marry.

of Algiers was to expire within little more than a fortnight after Benavides's release. But he was not to be outwitted at a bargain, not to be hustled into closing with the first offer. In conversation with Fray Juan Gil he spoke handsomely of his slaves as persons of consideration, gentlemen for none of whom would he take less than 500 *escudos*, while he fixed the ransom of a certain Geronimo Palafox at 1,000 *escudos.*[1] He was in no haste to sell: at the worst he could take his slaves with him to Turkey. There was no chance of raising the 1,000 *escudos* asked for Palafox. Cervantes was for sale at half the price,[2] and towards his release Fray Juan Gil had 280 *escudos* in hand. Only 220 *escudos* were needed to make up the necessary amount, and this balance was subscribed by the Christian traders in Algiers.[1] Hassan was to leave for Constantinople on September 19, 1580, and his preparations were complete. His slaves were duly shipped, Cervantes among them, in chains and irons. Before the galley sailed, Fray Juan Gil paid over the 500 *escudos*, and —after the officers on board had received their customary tip of nine *doblas*—Cervantes was set free.[2] Had the Spanish traders in Algiers been less open-handed, Cervantes would probably have passed into slavery at Constantinople, and died obscure.[3]

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[1] See Pedro de Rivera's *Testimonio de las diligencias hechas para el rescate de algunos cautivos* (drawn up at Algiers, March 5, 1581), printed by Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 74–80. The relevant passage (pp. 77–8) is as follows: 'destos susodichos el dicho padre redentor trató una y muchas veces, en presencia de mi el dicho notario, de sus rescates, y el dicho Rey Hassam Bajá le dijo a el dicho Padre Fray Juan Gil muchas veces que sus cristianos que eran hombres graves e que no tenia cristiano que no fuese caballero, que a ninguno dellos daria menos de en quinientos escudos de España en oro e que el dicho Don Jeronimo de Palafox no le daria menos de mil escudos, por ser hombre de grande rescate e ser caballero.'

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 78. After the passage quoted in the previous note, Rivera continues: 'del qual hago fe que el dicho Padre redentor dió por él [Palafox] quinientos escudos, e no le quiso dar, e asi se los llevó todos a Constantinopla, por que el dicho Padre Fray Juan Gil, redentor susodicho, dijo no tenia tanta cantidad que dar por los rescates destos cristianos, ni ayuda de sus deudos para sus rescates, ni se hallaba al presente con tanta cantidad de escudos para dar por los rescates de los tales, e ansi rescató a Miguel de Cervantes, natural de Alcalá de Henares, por quinientos escudos en oro, e si no los diera en oro no se le dieran, e dellos el dicho Padre buscó entre moros a trueco de doblas con sus intereses.'

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[1] This is disclosed in the certificate (see note 3 below).

[2] Cervantes in his seventeenth interrogatory writes (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 327; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 358): 'con yntencion de lleuarle á constantinopla, donde si allá le lleuaran no podia tener jamas libertad, ni la tuviera sino fuera quel muy Reverendo señor padre fray juan gil redenctor de los cativos de españa por su magestat, movido de compasion de ver en los peligros en que estaua el dicho miguel de serbantes, y de los muchos trauajos que avia pasado, con muchos ruegos e ymportunaciones y con dar quinientos escudos de oro, en oro, al dicho rrey, le dio libertad el mismo dia y punto quel dicho Rei Haçán alzaba bela para bolverse en constantinopla.' Alonso Aragonés speaks of Cervantes being five months in jail—'y de allí traydo á una galera donde estaua con dos cadenas y unos grillos' (*Ibid.*, pp. 331 and 362 respectively). Antonio de Sosa testifies (*Ibid.*, pp. 345 and 395 respectively) as follows: 'y cierto le llevara á constantinopla y nunca tubiera libertad si el muy rreverendo señor padre fray juan gil . . . el dia mismo quel mismo rrey Açan se partio para Constantinopla, que fue a los diez y nueve de setiembre no le rescatara en quinientos escudos de oro.'

Cervantes was a captive for almost exactly five years (September 26, 1575, to September 19, 1580): in the Prologue to the *Novelas exemplares* he speaks of being in captivity for five years and a half.

[3] The certificate of Cervantes's ransom was published by Josef Miguel de Flores in the *Aduana critica, donde se han de registrar todas las Piezas Literarias, cuyo despacho se solicita en esta Corte. Hebdoma-*

Before he left for Spain he had accounts to settle. 'El Dorador', indeed, was soon out of reach, for he

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dario de los sabios de España (Madrid, 1764), vol. III, p. 274; by Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada in his *Ensayo de una bibliotheca de traductores españoles . . . Preceden varias noticias literarias para las vidas de otros escritores españoles* (Madrid, 1778), pp. 195–6; and by Vicente de los Rios on pp. clxxxiv–clxxxv of the *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes* which precedes the edition of *Don Quixote* published by the Spanish Academy at Madrid in 1780. Unfortunately it is not reproduced in full by Navarrete, and it may therefore be convenient to reprint the document as given by Sr. D. Ramón León Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 194:

'En la çiudad de argel a diez E / nueve dias de el mes de septienbre (de 1580) / En Presençia de mi el dicho notario / El muy rreuerendo padre frai / juan gil rredentor suso dicho rrescato / a miguel de zeruantes natur/al de alcalá de henares de he/dad de treinta e vn años hijo / de rrodrigo de çeruantes E / de doña leonor de cortinas / vesino de la villa de madrid mediano / de cuerpo bien barbado estrope/ado de el braço y mano yzquierda / captiuo en la galera del sol / yendo de napoles a España, don/de estuuo mucho tienpo En seruiçio / de su magestad perdiose a veinte e seis / de septienbre del año de mill / y quinientos E setenta y çinco. estaua en / poder de açan baja rrey. costo / su rrescate quinientos escudos de oro / En oro no le quería dar su pa/tron si no le dauan escudos de oro / En oro de españa porque si no le / lleuaua á constantinolla / y asi atento esta neçesidad E / que este xpiano no se perdiese / En tierra de moros se busca/ron Entre mercaderes du/çientos E veinte escudos a rraçon / cada vno de çiento y veinte e çin/co asperos porque los demás que / fueron duçientos y ochenta / avia de limosna de la rreden/çion y los dichos quinientos es/cudos son e haçen doblas a rra/çon de a çiento e treinta e çinco as/peros cada escudo mill e tresçientos / y quarenta doblas. tuuo de ad/jutorios tresçientos ducados que / son e haçen doblas de argel con/tado cada rreal de a quatro A / quarenta e siete asperos se/teçientos y setenta e çinco e veinte / y çinco dineros. fue ayudado con/la limosna de francisco de caramanchel / de que es patron El muy jllustre señor don iñigo / de cardenas çapata del consejo / de su magestad con çinquenta doblas e de / la limosna general de la horden fue ayu/dado con otras çinquenta las demas / rrestantes a cumplimiento de las myl / E tresçientas y quarenta hiço o/bligaçion de pagallas á la dicha horden / por ser marauedis Para otros cap/tiuos que dieron deudos en españa / para sus rrescates e por no estar / a el

died appropriately enough on September 30, 1580, three years to a day after his apostasy and betrayal of the cave plot.[1] There remained the more formidable Blanco de Paz,[2] who had recently been posing as a commissary of the Inquisition. Though unable to produce his papers when challenged,[3] Blanco de

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presente En este argel no se an rres/catado y estar obligada la dicha horden / a boluer a las partes su dinero / no rrescatando los tales cap/tivos E mas se dieron nueve do/blas a los oficiales de la galera / del dicho rrey açan baja que pidieron / de sus derechos. En fee de lo cual lo firma/ron de sus nonbres testigos alonso de berdugo E / francisco de aguilar, miguel de molina, / Rodrigo de frias, xpianos. frai juan gil / paso ante mi pedro de rriuera notario / apostolico. /'

[1] So Antonio de Sosa deposes (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 343; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 394): '. . . se que ansi como él prometió a otros hacerse moro, se hizo despues y biuió moro tres años, hasta que murió en el mismo dia que descubrió este negocio al rrey Haçan, que fué el dia de san geronimo, postrero de setiembre . . .'

[2] We know from Sosa's answer to the fifteenth interrogatory that Cervantes went in dread of Blanco de Paz: 'y tenia gran temor el miguel de ceruantes, con rrazon, que le viniese de aquello algun gran mal y perdida de la vida.'

[3] Sosa's statement (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 346–7; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 396) in replying to the twenty-second interrogatory is explicit: 'se que es verdad que el dicho juan blanco de paz, este mes de julio pasado y el de agosto se hazia y publicaba en este argel por comisario del santo oficio, y como tal rrequirió al muy rreverendo padre fray juan gil del horden de la santisima trinidad, rredentor de los captivos, y a su compañero el padre fray antonio de la villa y a los padres teatinos de portugal que entonces aquí se hallaban rrediniendo captivos, que le diesen obediencia y le conosciesen por tal, y les hizo a todos hazer de eso sus actos firmados de todos, y tambien a mi me rrequirió dia del apostol santiago . . . que le diese tambien la misma obediencia; y demandándole yo me mostrase con que poderes hera el comisario del santo oficio, me dixo, que no los tenia aquí . . . y lo mismo se que le rrequirió después el señor padre juan gil rredentor de españa, y que le mostrase los poderes que tenia y él no los mostró, y dixo no los tener.' Diego Castellano states that he was present when Fray Juan Gil called on Blanco de Paz to produce his papers (*Ibid.*, pp. 332 and 368 respectively).

Paz acted as one having authority, inquired curiously into other people's morals, and directed special attention to Cervantes,[1] attempting to suborn witnesses against him,[2] and spreading rumours likely to discredit him in Spain.[3] These manœuvres had one good result. Cervantes met them by asking Fray Juan Gil to hold an inquiry on the whole matter of his conduct at Algiers, and drew up a list of twenty-five interrogatories dealing with the main points.[4] In the presence of Fray Juan Gil, and of Pedro de Rivera (notary apostolic in Algiers), twelve witnesses supported the views suggested in the interrogatories,[1] and finally Fray Juan Gil himself spoke in high terms of Cervantes's character.[2] The inquiry redounded to Cervantes's credit. It proved that his comrades regarded him as a man of exceptional virtue, kindliness, courage, and personal charm[3]; it further proved that Blanco de Paz was generally disliked as a mean creature, and, perhaps, as an unworthy priest.[1]

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[1] Here, again, Sosa puts the facts clearly: '. . . con todo, e sabido quel dicho juan blanco, usando todavia de oficio de comisario del santo oficio, avia tomado muchas ynformaciones contra muchas personas; y particularmente contra los que tenia por enemigos, y como contra el dicho Miguel de cervantes, con el qual tenia enemistad' (*Ibid.*, pp. 347 and 396 respectively).

[2] Diego Castellano testified that Blanco de Paz tried to corrupt a Sardinian, Captain Domingo Lopino, 'con muchas mandas de rruegos y sobornos y promesas, de darle ó hazerle dar libertad y diez doblas.' Lopino himself appeared to confirm this statement, describing the advances made to him by Blanco de Paz (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 332-3, 336; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, pp. 368, 378-80).

[3] These attempts are mentioned by Lopino (see previous note). The Carmelite Fray Feliciano Enriquez deposed (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 339; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 391) to not knowing that Blanco de Paz had been trumping up charges against Cervantes, but the witness added significantly that he had at one time been on bad terms with Cervantes on account of ugly rumours about him communicated by a certain person ('estuuo un poco de tiempo muy enemigo con el dicho miguel de serbantes; y en esta razon, oyó este testigo a una persona dezir algunas cosas viciosas y feas contra dicho miguel de serbantes'). On inquiry Enriquez found the rumours to be false.

[4] The *Informacion*, containing the interrogatories in full, is printed by Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 319–48, and by Torres Lanzas in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* (Número Extraordinario en conmemoración del centenario del Quijote), May 1905, pp. 354–97.

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[1] The testimony of eleven witnesses (Alonso Aragonés of Cordoba, Ensign Diego Castellano of Toledo, Rodrigo de Chaves of Badajoz, Hernando de Vega of Cadiz, Juan de Valcazar of Malaga, Captain Domingo Lopino of Sardinia, Fernando de Vega of Toledo, Cristobal de Villalon of Valbuena (near Valladolid), Diego de Benavides of Baeza, Ensign Luis de Pedrosa of Osuna, and Fray Feliciano Enriquez of Yepes) is conveniently summarized by Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 330–9. Antonio de Sosa, who was imprisoned in chains while the inquiry was held, replied to the interrogatories in writing (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 341–8; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, pp. 393–7).

[2] The *providencia* of Fray Juan Gil (October 22, 1580) is printed by Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 339–41, and Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, pp. 392–3. The relevant passage reads thus: 'yten, de la misma manera doy fee y testimonio, que dende el tiempo que estoy en este argel haziendo la rredencion por mandado de su magestad que son seis meses e tratado y conversado y comunicado particular y familiarmente al dicho Migel de cerbantes, en cuyo favor se hizo esta ynformacion, y le conozco por muy onrado que a seruido muchos años a su Magestad; y particularmente en este su captiverio a hecho cosas por donde meresce que su Magestad le haga mucha merced, como mas largamente consta por los testigos arriba escriptos . . . y si tal en sus obras y costumbres no fuera, ni fuera por tal, tenido y rreputado de todos yo no le admitiera en mi conuersacion y familiaridad . . .'

[3] Fray Feliciano Enriquez (Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 391) praises Cervantes for his 'hidalgo proceder, cristiano, y honesto y virtuoso'; Valcazar (*Ibid.*, p. 375) notes that Cervantes was remarkable for his virtuous life: 'en hazer bien y limosnas a pobres cautivos, sustentandoles de comer y pagandoles sus jornadas, para hefeto de hebitar de que sus patrones no les maltratasen de darles palos y otros malos tratamientos'; Pedrosa says (*Ibid.*, p. 388) 'en estremo tiene especial gracia en todo, porques tan discreto y auisado que pocos ay que le lleguen.' Benavides states (*Ibid.*, p. 385) that, when he inquired as to the most important prisoners in Algiers, he was told 'que principalmente estaua vno muy cabal, noble y virtuoso y era de muy buena condicion

On October 13 Cervantes attached his name as witness to the ransom certificate of an elderly prisoner named Juan Gutierrez, an old soldier suffering from cataract.[2] He had lodged with Diego de Benavides while Fray Juan Gil was holding his inquiry—from October 10 to October 22.[3] His

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y amigo de otros caballeros, lo qual se dixo por el dicho miguel de serbantes.' There is, of course, abundant evidence to prove Cervantes's coolness and courage.

[1] The twenty-fifth interrogatory (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 329; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, pp. 359–60) states the case against Blanco de Paz: 'yten: si saben ó an oydo descir quel dicho doctor juan blanco, en todo el tiempo que a sido cativo en argel, que será tres años y mas, a sido hombre rreboltoso, enemistado con todos, que nunca dixo misa en todo este tiempo, ni le an visto rresar oras canonicas, ni confesar, ni visitar ó consolar enfermos cristianos, como lo acostumbran á hazer otros sacerdotes cristianos; antes siendo rreprendido del mal exemplo que dava, de dos rreligiosos, en el baño del Rei, donde el susodicho abitaba, á el amo [uno ?] de ellos dió vn bofeton, y a el otro de coçes, por donde dió grande escandalo y le tubieron en mala rreputacion.'

For the rest it may be convenient to refer, for corroboration, to the evidence as summarized by Navarrete. Chaves indicates (p. 333) that Blanco de Paz was given to personal violence; Lopino speaks generally (p. 336) to his misconduct, and Sosa says (pp. 347-8) that he had heard similar stories about Blanco de Paz from other Christians who came to visit him in prison.

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 58–9.

[3] Possibly Cervantes and Benavides lodged together before October 10, 1580. See Benavides's evidence before Fray Juan Gil (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 337; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 385): '. . . el dicho miguel de servantes, usando de sus buenos terminos, se le ofreció con su posada, rropa y dineros que le tubiese; y asi lo llevó consigo y lo tiene en su compañia, donde comen de presente juntos y estan en un aposento donde le haze mucha merced; en lo cual este testigo halló padre y madre, por ser nuebo en la tierra hasta que dios sea seruido que aya navios para irse a españa ambos a dos . . .'

character once cleared, there was nothing to keep him in Algiers, and two days later—October 24—he embarked for Spain on a ship belonging to Maese Anton Francés.[1] With him sailed five other Christians[2] who had likewise been ransomed by Fray Juan Gil.[3] The vessel put in at Denia[4]; before December 1,[5] Cervantes was in Valencia; and by December 18, 1580, he had returned to Madrid, and had lodged an *Informacion* concerning his release from slavery.[6]

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No doubt he was overjoyed to meet again the members of his family who had stood by him loyally, and had done what their small means allowed to procure his ransom. But the happiness of family gatherings is seldom unalloyed. Cervantes found his parents ageing. His father's deafness cannot have promoted conversation.[1] His brother Rodrigo seems to have been absent, serving in the ranks. His sister Magdalena, after some passages—financial in appearance, but perhaps also tender—with Alonso Pacheco Portocarrero,[2] was now preparing some-

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 250.

[2] We may assume from Benavides's statement, quoted on p. 55, n. 3, that he was one of the five. Another was a Portuguese named Francisco de Aguilar, who declared on December 19, 1580 (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 68), that 'se rescataron a un tiempo el y el dicho Cerbantes y vinieron juntos en una nao del dicho cautiverio '. That Rodrigo de Chaves was a third we know from Cervantes's deposition of the same date (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 71): '. . . se rescató al tiempo que se rescató el dicho Rodrigo de Chaves e vinieron juntos en un baxel hasta Denia que es en el reino de Valencia . . .'

[3] Fray Juan Gil paid 15 *doblas* for their passage (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 250): he himself remained in Algiers till March 12, 1581.

[4] See Cervantes's testimony respecting Rodrigo de Chaves, quoted in note 2 above.

[5] On this date, before Rodrigo de Vera, Juan de Estefano and Mateo Pasqual deposed to having seen Cervantes recently in Valencia after his release from Algiers (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 61–3).

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 65.

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[1] The deafness of the elder Rodrigo de Cervantes dated back, apparently, to 1575. On September 30 of that year he is mentioned as reading a legal document aloud, instead of having it read to him, as seems to have been usual (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 31). His deafness is expressly mentioned in another legal document dated May 11, 1578 (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 52): '. . . el dicho Rodrigo de Çeruantes por ser sordo tomó esta escriptura e la leyó y entendió el efecto della y dixo que asi lo otorgaba e otorgó e firmólo.'

[2] As already noted (p. 26, n. 3), this Alonso Pacheco Portocarrero was the eldest son of the Pedro Portocarrero who was in command at La Goleta when the fort fell (August 22, 1574), before the arrival of the relief expedition in which, it will be remembered, Cervantes took part. Pedro Portocarrero was then captured, became the property of Sinan Pasha, and died in slavery some months later—at a date not known precisely, but undoubtedly before May 1575.

The facts concerning Alonso Pacheco Portocarrero's relations with Magdalena de Cervantes are involved. They may be briefly summarized as follows:—

In 1574, or earlier, Pacheco Portocarrero undertook, for reasons not disclosed, to pay Magdalena de Cervantes a sum of 500 *ducados* on the death of his father. The news of Don Pedro's death evidently reached Madrid before May 7, 1575, for in a document of that date Pacheco Portocarrero speaks of his father as dead, acknowledges his debt to Magdalena, and binds himself to settle it before July 25, 1575, under penalty of paying double the amount (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 18–20). Perhaps, as has been suggested, it was thought advisable to conceal the fact that a married man like Pacheco Portocarrero was undertaking to pay sums of money to an unmarried woman like Magdalena de Cervantes (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 226–7). At any rate, on the same day (May 7, 1575), Magdalena signed a document authorizing a Florentine (with the singularly un-Italian name of Felipe Lopez) to collect from Pacheco Portocarrero 500 *ducados*—a sum which, so Magdalena swore, she owed to Lopez (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 21-4). Whether this is truth or fiction we cannot say: no thing unpleasantly like an action for breach of promise of marriage against a certain Juan Perez de

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more is heard of the matter. That Pacheco Portocarrero defaulted appears from a document dated August 1, 1575: herein Magdalena de Cervantes consented to extend the time of payment till December 25, 1580 (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 25–7). She seems to have regretted her leniency, for—at some date previous to September 28, 1575—she obtained a writ of execution against Pacheco Portocarrero. The issue of the writ was illegal, as she had already granted her debtor an extension of time till Christmas 1580. It is possible that other considerations may also have influenced Magdalena de Cervantes. In any case, on September 28, 1575, she consented to sign a deed whereby she agreed to have the writ cancelled, and to pay all costs of the execution, so far as it had been levied: she also undertook to grant Pacheco Portocarrero an extension of time, the term of which is not specified in the deed (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 28-31). Two days later—September 30, 1575—Pacheco Portocarrero, on his side, waived his right to the extension of time till Christmas 1580, and pledged himself to pay the 500 *ducados* within two years (perhaps earlier, if he succeeded in obtaining a *real cédula* entitling him to cut down certain trees on his estate at Jerez de los Caballeros). Failing this, Magdalena was to be free to send a collector to recover the debt at Jerez de los Caballeros, Pacheco Portocarrero binding himself to pay the agent's expenses at the rate of a *ducado* a day (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 32-6).

Pacheco Portocarrero's wife (Doña Angela de Arellano, daughter of the Conde del Castellar) must have been failing in health while these legal parleyings were going on: she died on January 12, 1576. Spanish writers hint that Magdalena de Cervantes hoped to become Pacheco Portocarrero's second wife. It seems incredible that such a *mésalliance* can ever have crossed his mind. The fact remains that, though Pacheco Portocarrero did not pay his debt to Magdalena when his time expired on September 30, 1577, she did not proceed against him as before. On December 23, 1577, Pacheco Portocarrero made a settlement on Doña Mariana de Cespedes, and no doubt his marriage with her must be referred to this date, or a little later (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 376, nn. 1 and 3). There was no reason for further forbearance on Magdalena's part. On May 11, 1578, she commissioned one Alonso de Cordova to go to Jerez de los Caballeros, to collect the debt due by Pacheco Portocarrero, and to recover expenses on the scale set forth in the deed of September 30, 1575 (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 50-2). It has been conjectured that Cordova succeeded in his mission (Emilio

Alcega.[1] His sister Andrea,[2] after similar mysterious adventures with the same Alonso Pacheco Porto-

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Cotarelo y Mori, *Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 56). There is no documentary proof that Pacheco Portocarrero discharged his debt before his death, which occurred on January 15, 1597 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 376).

It may be noted that, as early as May 7, 1575, Magdalena de Cervantes appears in legal documents as Madalena Pimentel de Sotomayor (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 18). It is not clear how she came by this name: in after years she seems to have continued to call herself Sotomayor.

[1] Juan Perez de Alcega, a Basque from Azpeitia, had been *grefier* to Anne of Austria, Philip II's fourth wife (d. October 26, 1580), and aspired to be controller in the household of the Infantas. A mature philanderer, he had promised marriage to Magdalena de Cervantes, and afterwards wished to break off the engagement. Magdalena replied by moving the Vicar-General of Madrid to compel the man to fulfil his promise. Perez de Alcega offered 300 *ducados* by way of compensation if he were released from his engagement: one hundred *ducados* to be paid in ready money, another hundred within eight months, and the last instalment four months later. Magdalena de Cervantes accepted these terms on August 22, 1581 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 75–8). Perez de Alcega died on November 9, 1587 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 384–6).

[2] Andrea's transactions with Alonso Pacheco Portocarrero had begun before August 27, 1571. Previous to that date she appears to have sold him a crystal rosary, a gold *Agnus Dei*, a gold chain, and a gold necklace jewelled with pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. For these articles Pacheco Portocarrero undertook to pay 500 *ducados* within a certain limit of time: as might be expected, he did not pay, and took no steps in the matter till August 1, 1575, the very day on which Andrea's sister Magdalena granted him an extension of time to pay his debt to her.

It would seem as though neither Andrea nor Magdalena was aware of the other's relations with Alonso Pacheco Portocarrero.

On August 1, 1575, Pacheco Portocarrero signed a deed acknowledging his debt to Andrea, and undertaking to pay 250 *ducados* by Christmas 1577, and the remaining 250 *ducados* a year later; he inserted in the deed an odd reference to his peculiar obligations to Andrea ('la mucha obligacion e cargos en que os soy, que suman e montan mucho más que valen los dichos quinientos ducados').

carrero, was living in poverty,[1] apart from her parents,[2] with a daughter whose father it is not easy to identify.[3] But, even had his home been

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What these obligations were we have no means of knowing (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 25-8). Neither can we say whether Alonso Pacheco Portocarrero paid Andrea, or not: if he did, we should be able to guess the source of the 50 *ducados* which Andrea gave Fray Juan Gil and Fray Anton de la Bella on July 31, 1579, as her contribution towards Cervantes's ransom.

This was not the only occasion on which Andrea sold jewels to a Portocarrero. She had a lawsuit pending with Alonso's brother, Pedro Portocarrero, concerning jewels and money, and on October 12, 1571, authorized three *procuradores* to act in this case, as well as other cases in which she might be engaged (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 17-19).

[1] As far back as September 1, 1573, Andrea was working as a seamstress, and on this date took an apprentice named Isabel de Alvear (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 15-17).

[2] On July 23, 1577, Andrea, on her own responsibility, took a year's lease of a house in the Calle de la Reina, at an annual rental of 140 *ducados* (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 38-40).

[3] The existence of this girl is first disclosed in a document dated October 10, 1576 (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 37): herein Andrea asks to be named guardian of her daughter, Costanza de Figueroa, a child between six and twelve years of age, and the owner apparently of some little property. It is noticeable that the child is called Costanza de Figueroa, and that Andrea does not describe herself as wife or widow of anybody. When next mentioned—in 1596—the daughter, though still called Costanza de Figueroa, is said to be 'hija de Nyculas de Ovando' (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 108). Beyond the fact that Ovando was alleged to be dead on December 3, 1596, nothing is known of him. In 1605 the daughter gave her name as Costanza de Ovando (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 514).

In the matter of proper names, however, Spanish usage fluctuates so much that it would be unsafe to draw any deductions from the foregoing circumstances. Sr. Cotarelo y Mori draws attention (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 67) to a phrase used by Cervantes in his *Información* of 1590 (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 312-13): '. . . él y un hermano suyo, que tambien ha servido á V. M. en las mismas jornadas, y fueron lleuados á Argel, donde gastaron el patrimonio que tenian en rescatarse, y toda la hacienda de sus padres y las dotes de *dos hermanas doncellas* que tenia, las cuales quedaron pobres por rescatar more attractive, Cervantes was not free to remain in it. He could not afford to be idle.[1]

á sus hermanos . . .' From the three words printed in italics, Sr. Cotarelo y Mori draws the conclusion that Costanza de Figueroa was an illegitimate daughter of Andrea's, and that her father was Nicolas de Ovando. Sr. Cotarelo y Mori quotes, in confirmation of his view, Andrea de Cervantes's description of herself before the Alcalde of Valladolid on June 30, 1605 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 517): 'Preguntada cómo se llama y qué edad y estado tiene, dixo que se llama doña Andrea de Cervantes, viuda, muger que fue de Sante Ambrosio, florentin, y que antes fué desposada y concertada con Niculas de Ovando, y es de edad de cinquenta años.' Sr. Cotarelo y Mori deduces from this that Costanza was the illegitimate child of Nicolas de Ovando and Andrea de Cervantes. It may be so, but we cannot feel sure of it. In his *Informacion* Cervantes writes in a somewhat rhetorical tone, and aims, as most petitioners do, at effect rather than at dismal accuracy. Neither should we put entire trust in the statement of Andrea at Valladolid : as she then gave her age as fifty, when she was really close on sixty-one, she is not to be taken too literally.

The truth is that we do not know who Costanza's father was, nor when and where (if ever anywhere) he married Andrea. According to her mother's statement on October 10, 1576, Costanza was then over six and under twelve years of age : that is, she was not born before October 1564 nor after October 1570. It is impossible to say what importance attaches to the fact that Locadelo's unaccountable gift to Andrea was made between these dates—on June 9, 1568.

[1] Small indications serve to show that the Cervantes family were constantly in straits for money. Thus Rodrigo de Cervantes and his wife Leonor de Cortinas borrowed a sum of money from an old-clothes man named Hernando de las Barcenas: the couple repaid most of the amount, and then fell behindhand. We find them both signing a document on September 16, 1573, and undertaking to pay the balance (12 *ducados*) before Christmas (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 20–3).

There are other indications that the elder Rodrigo de Cervantes had occasional dreams of affluence. On October 20, 1576, he gave a power of attorney to two persons living near Granada, authorizing them to ask for execution to be levied on the property of the Licentiate Pedro Sanchez de Cordova of Granada on account of a sum of 800 *ducados* overdue (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 42–3). Manifestly nothing was done, and, On February 9, 1581, his mother presented the certificate of his ransom to the Consejo de Cruzada, and obtained a quittance.[1] We may, perhaps, presume that Cervantes had hoped to obtain some official employment through the letters of recommendation which he had received five years or so earlier from Don John of Austria and the Duke of Sessa. It does not appear that these letters were of great use: they did not obtain for Cervantes any permanent employment. A phrase in his *Informacion* of 1590 suggests, at first sight, that he served in Portugal and in the Azores[2]; but the phrase is worded rather loosely, and was probably meant by the writer to apply to his brother Rodrigo. It cannot well apply to Cervantes himself: he did not

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on February 25, 1577, the elder Rodrigo de Cervantes empowered one Gaspar de Baeza to act for him in the matter (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 47–9).

What are we to think of this? Was the debt a fiction of the old man's brain, distraught at the notion of having two sons in slavery at Algiers? Had he ever been in a position to lend such a sum as 800 *ducados* to his friends? Did Sanchez de Cordova really owe him the money? If it was not in repayment of a sum lent that the elder Rodrigo de Cervantes claimed the 800 *ducados*, what services can he have rendered to Sanchez de Cordova that placed the latter in his debt to this amount? Is there any reason to suppose that he ever met Sanchez de Cordova personally? These questions, easy to ask, are hard to answer. The fact that Andrea knew one of Sanchez de Cordova's men-servants (Alonso Gutierrez de Cumbres) and called him in to witness Locadelo's deed of gift on June 9, 1568 (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 14), does not help us to ascertain whether Andrea's father knew Gutierrez de Cumbres's master.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 70–4.

[2] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 313; Torrez Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 346: '. . . y despues de liuertados fueron á seruir á V. M. en el reyno de Portugal y á las terceras con el marques de Santa cruz . . .'

leave Algiers till the Portuguese campaign was over, and, though we have no precise account of his doings at the time of the expeditions to the Azores, it seems likely that he was engaged in pursuits less picturesque than soldiering.[1]

It is true that we first hear of him again in Portugal, but not as a soldier. At Thomar, on May 21, 1581, he was paid fifty *ducados* on account, to enable him to go to Oran—'á ciertas cosas de nuestro servicio', as the *real cédula* says with provoking reticence.[2] From a statement made by Cervantes nine years later in his *Informacion*, it would seem that he acted as king's messenger, carrying dispatches from the *alcaide* of Mostaganem.[1] Whatever his errand, he was back in Spain before long: on June 26, at Cartagena, he was paid the balance of fifty *ducados* due for the expenses of his journey.[2] No further employment in the public service was found for him at the moment. So far as can be guessed, he drifted back to Madrid, and tried his luck at literature. This is inferred from the fact that within a year or two he was on friendly terms with men of letters in the capital: with Pedro de Padilla, to whose *Romancero* (1583) he contributed a laudatory sonnet; with Juan Rufo Gutierrez, for whose poem *La Austriada* (1584) he wrote another eulogistic sonnet[3]; with Luis Galvez de Montalvo, who wrote a similar sonnet which appeared in the *Galatea* next year.[4] At about this time, too, he must have begun to write that series of 'twenty or thirty plays' which ended in 1587, and of which he spoke with some complacency long afterwards[5]: the titles of nine plays of this period are given in the *Adjunta al Parnaso*,[1] but only two survive.[2]

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. xi–xii: 'Casi todos los biógrafos de Cervantes han sostenido que éste asistió á la jornada de la Tercera, fundándose en que así lo indica en el pedimento de la Información del año 1590; pero si tenemos en cuenta que en dicho documento van englobados los servicios de Miguel y Rodrigo de Cervantes, y por ende que es fácil atribuir al uno los hechos del otro hermano, que Miguel estaba en Tomar por Mayo de 1581, en Cartagena á fines de Junio de este año, ocupado en cosas del servicio de S. M., y en Madrid por el otoño de 1583; que el Marqués de Santa Cruz, después de haber reducido la Tercera y otras islas, entró en Cádiz el 15 de Septiembre del dicho año, se hace casi imposible que Miguel de Cervantes pudiera asistir á dicha jornada.'

[2] Morán, *Vida de Miguel Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid, 1867), pp. 339–40): 'El Rey. Lope Giner, pagador de nuestras harmadas en Cartagena, yo vos mando que de qualesquier mrs. de vuestro cargo, deis y pagueis á Miguel de Cervantes cincuenta ducados . . . que se los mandamos librar á cumplimiento de cien ducados de que le habemos hecho merced de ayuda de costa, por una vez teniendo consideracion, á que vá á ciertas cosas de nuestro servicio ; . . . y tomad su carta de pago, ó de quien su poder oviere, en la qual y ésta nuestra cédula, tomando la razon de ella Cristoval de Heredia nuestro vehedor de las dichas harmadas, mandamos que os reciban y pasen en cuenta sin otro recaudo alguno. Fecha en Tomar á veinte y uno de mayo de mil quinientos ochenta y uno.—Yo el Rey.'

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[1] See the *Informacion* of 1590 (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 313; Torres Lanzas, *op. cit.*, p. 346): 'y el miguel de çerbantes fue el que traxo las cartas y auisos del alcayde de Mostagan y fue á oran por orden de V. M. . . .'

[2] Morán, *Vida*, p. 341. 'En veinte y seis de Junio [1581] pagué por cédula de su magestad á Miguel de Cervantes vecino de Cartagena, digo estante en Cartagena, su fecha en Tomar veinte y uno de mayo diez y ocho mil setecientos cinquenta mrs.' This is from the ledger (1581–4) of Lope Giner, *pagador de las armadas* at Cartagena.

[3] The sonnets to Padilla and to Rufo Gutierrez are reprinted in *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, pp. 421–2 and 428.

[4] Montalvo's sonnet is reprinted by Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 278–9.

[5] In the preface to his volume of plays published at Madrid in 1615: see p. 191, n. 1.

Still his activity did not enrich him. Like the rest of his family, he was poor. It is cheering to learn that his brother Rodrigo was promoted for bravery in the Azores during the summer of 1583[3]: it is depressing to catch a glimpse of Cervantes himself in the following autumn, when we find him pawning, on behalf of his sister Magdalena, five rolls of taffeta which had formed part of Locadelo's gift to Andrea.[4] Perhaps to this period we should assign the beginning of his intrigue with Ana Franca de Rojas, who became the mother of his natural daughter Isabel de Saavedra.[1] By the end of 1583 Cervantes had no doubt finished the pastoral romance which he entitled *Primera Parte de la Galatea.* The book passed the licenser on February 1, 1584, and on June 14 the author sold his *privilegio* to his townsman Blas de Robles for 1,336 *reales.*[2] While the *Galatea* was printing, Cervantes assumed a new responsibility. He had become acquainted with Catalina de Salazar y Palacios, daughter of Fernando de Salazar Vozmediano and Catalina de Palacios.[3]

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[1] The passage (*Obras completas de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1863-4, vol. VIII, p. 401) shows that the author took a special pride in *La Confusa*. On March 5, 1585, he undertook to deliver it within a week to Gaspar de Porras for a fee of twenty *ducados*: see Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Noticias y documentos relativos á la historia y literatura españolas* in *Memorias de la Real Academia Española* (Madrid, 1910), vol. X, p. 101.

[2] The plays that survive are the first two on the list: *Los Tratos de Argel* and *La Numancia*. Nothing is known of *El Trato de Constantinopla y muerte de Selin*, a play which Cervantes likewise undertook to deliver to Gaspar de Porras before Easter Sunday, 1585 (*Ibid.*, vol. X, p. 101).

[3] Cristobal Mosquera de Figueroa, *Comentario en breve compendio de disciplina militar, en que se escriue la jornada de las islas de los Açores* (Madrid, 1596), fol. 58: 'Echòse al agua animosamẽte cõ su vãdera, por auer encallado la barca, Frãcisco de la Rua alferez de dõ Frãcisco de Boauidilla, y tras el el capitã Luis de Gueuara, y Rodrigo de Ceruãtes, a quiẽ despues auẽtajò el Marq̃s . . .' The action took place on July 26 at Porto das Moas, about two leagues from Angra.

According to Navarrete, who gives no authority for his statement (*Vida*, p. 250), the younger Rodrigo de Cervantes was promoted to the rank of *alférez* in 1584. We do not know precisely when Rodrigo became an ensign. He must, however, have held this rank for some time before February 2, 1586, when 71,543 *maravedis* were due to him as 'alférez de la compañía de hombres de armas de D. Josepe de Acuña' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 410 n.).

[4] This appears from a document dated September 10, 1585 (Pérez

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Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 89–92): 'En la villa de Madrid, a diez dias del mes de septiembre de mill y quinientos y ochenta y cinco anos . . . parescieron presentes Rodrigo de Zervantes y doña Magdalena de Zervantes, hermanos, residentes en esta corte, e dixeron que por quanto habrá dos años, poco mas o menos tiempo, Miguel de Zerbantes, su hermano, por orden de la dicha doña Magdalena empeñó al señor Napoleon Lomelin cinco paños de tafetan amarillos y colorados para aderezo de una sala, que tienen setenta y quatro varas y tres quartas, por treinta ducados, y que hasta agora han estado en el empeño . . .'

Magdalena de Cervantes finally sold the taffeta to Napoleon Lomelin for 523 *reales.* It is to be noted that the first item on Locadelo's list of gifts (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 9) is: 'Primeramente de siete pieças de tafetanes amarillos y colorados que entre todos hay treynta y seys piernas.'

[1] On June 30, 1605, Isabel de Saavedra swore that she was then twenty years of age (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 520); on March 30, 1639, she swore she was then forty years of age (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 319). The first statement may be approximately correct; the second is certainly incorrect.

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 87–9.

[3] Cervantes's wife was baptized at the church of St. Mary in Esquivias on November 12, 1565. The certificate was printed in the *Crónica de los Cervantistas* (Cádiz, 1872), vol. I, pp. 193–6, and is reproduced by Máinez, *Cervantes y su época* (p. 239), as follows:

The girl's father was dead, she had some little property, and she was eighteen years younger than Cervantes, who married her at Esquivias, her native place, on December 12, 1584.[1] Possibly his friends thought him a fortunate man; evidently he shared this view. We cannot tell how far it was correct, for we know next to nothing of Cervantes's married life. There are signs that he was not highly esteemed by some members of his wife's family[2]: but this is the common lot of husbands.

'En 12 de Noviembre de 1565 años, el reverendo Sr. Pedro de Huete, cura teniente de dicho lugar, baptizó una hija del Sr. Fernando de Salazar Vozmediano y de la Sra. Catalina de Palacios su mujer, cuyo nombre fué Catalina; y el dicho señor cura preguntó á los que la traían á baptizar que á quién señalaban por compadres y que la saquen de pila; los cuales respondieron que al reverendo Sr. Juan de Palacios, el cual la sacó de pila; y otrosi, el dicho señor cura les encargó el parentesco espiritual, conforme al Santo Concilio tridentino; siendo testigos Pedro de Gamboa y Casimiro Palomeque y Baltasar Jiménez, vecinos de dicho lugar de Esquivias.—Pedro de Huete.'

[1] Máinez gives (*Cervantes y su época*, p. 222, n.) the marriage certificate, as copied by Sr. D. Ramõn Santa María:

Miguel de Serbantes
con
Dª. Cathalina de Palacios

'En 12. de diciembre [de 1584] el
Reverendo Señor Juan de Palacios
tiniente / desposo á los señores
Miguel de zerbantes vezino de
Madrid y doña cathalina de palacios
vezina desquivias. testigos
Rodrigo mexia / diego escrivano
y francisco marcos
El Doctor
escriuano.'

This is taken from the *Libro de difuntos (y de matrimonios) que comienza en 1578*. It differs slightly from the version printed by Rios in the Academy edition of *Don Quixote* (Madrid, 1780), vol. I, p. clxxxvi.

[2] It has been argued (see p. 69, n. 4) that Cervantes's mother-in-law

Cervantes cannot have remained long at Esquivias. He had to push his way in the world. Writing complimentary poems for Pedro de Padilla's *Iardin Espiritval* (1585) was not lucrative,[1] and he had already received all the money he was ever to make by the *Galatea*, which was published in the spring of 1585.[2] He was learning that, as a means of livelihood, the pen is even feebler than the sword: it was a lesson that he learned slowly and unwillingly. It was only possible to earn a living by his pen at Madrid, and there we find him on March 5, 1585, undertaking to supply Gaspar de Porras with two plays—*La Confusa* and *El Trato de Constantinopla y muerte de Selin*—at twenty *ducados* each.[3] We cannot say whether Cervantes was in Madrid when his father died on June 13, 1585[4]; he was certainly

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thought well of him in August 1586. If so, she changed her opinion before she made her will on November 17, 1587; see pp. 175, n. 1 (paragraph 3) and 178.

[1] The *Privilegio* of Padilla's *Iardin Espiritval* is dated June 5, 1584; the *Fé de Erratas* is dated February 12, 1585. Cervantes's *redondillas*, stanzas, and sonnet were perhaps written between these dates: the poems are reprinted in *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863-4), vol. VIII, pp. 422–5, 432–3.

[2] The *Tasa* of the *Galatea* is dated March 13, 1585: there is no foundation for the statement that there is an edition dated 1584.

[3] Pérez Pastor's *Noticias y documentos relativos á la historia y literatura españolas* in *Memorias de la Real Academia Española* (Madrid, 1910), vol. X, p. 101. Both plays are lost.

[4] The elder Rodrigo made his will on June 8, 1585 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 83–6): his death-certificate was first printed by Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 565) who, misled by Doña Leonor's statement that she was a widow in 1579 (*Ibid.*, p. 248), assumed that the date of the death-certificate was wrong. Doña Leonor had first passed herself off as a widow in 1576 (see p. 46, n. 2): an apologetic

there on August 1, 1585, when he witnessed a document drawn up for Inés Osorio,[1] the illiterate wife of his friend Geronimo Velazquez, a prominent theatrical manager. But it is evident that Cervantes was unsettled, and that he was thinking of taking to some employment less precarious than authorship. He appears at Seville in December 1585 as a man of affairs, trafficking in bills and the like.[2] In August 1586 we discover him again at Esquivias, signing a receipt for his wife's modest dowry, settling a hundred *ducados* on her,[3] and receiving his mother-in-law's power of attorney.[4] He was drifting away from literature. That he did not abandon it altogether is shown by the prefatory poems which he wrote for the works of some of his friends: a

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explanation of her action is given, with a reprint of her husband's death-certificate, by Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 254.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 87, 88.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 93–5, and vol. II, pp. 93–7.

[3] The *carta dotal* of Cervantes's wife, first published by Pellicer (*Don Quixote*, Madrid, 1797–8, vol. I, pp. ccv–ccxii), is reprinted by Máinez (*Cervantes y su época*, pp. 241–4). Including Cervantes's settlement of one hundred *ducados*, the dowry was estimated at the value of 182,297 *maravedis* (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 393). Among the miscellaneous items were land, an orchard, olives, vines, some house-furniture, a few ornaments, food, a cock, forty-five hens and chickens, &c.

[4] Manuel de Foronda, *Cervantes en la Exposición Histórico-Europea* (Madrid, 1894), p. 55: 'No debió desagradar mucho este matrimonio á la suegra de Cervantes, ni debía tener mal concepto de su talento y honradez, cuando dos años más tarde, en 9 de Agosto de 1586, y ante el escribano de S. M. Alonso de Aguilera, otorga Doña Catalina, viuda ya, amplio poder para percibir ciertos maravedises en Toledo á favor de "Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, mi yerno". Son sus palabras.' But see pp. 174, n. 1 (paragraph 3) and 178.

sonnet and *quintillas* contributed to Gabriel Lopez Maldonado's *Cancionero* (1586),[1] a sonnet to Alonso de Barros's *Philosophia cortesana moralizada* (1587),[2] and a sonnet to the *Grandezas y excelencias de la Virgen Señora nuestra* (1587)[3] of Pedro de Padilla, who had become a Carmelite.[4] There are so many signs of reluctance to take the plunge. It had, however, to be taken. Cervantes had an eye for facts. He saw that the plays—which he described as successful—did not enable him to live: he saw that the writing of pastoral romances meant starvation.

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[1] Lopez Maldonado assumed the poetic name of Clerino: see his *Cancionero* (f. 176). His Christian name, omitted from his title-page and not stated by historians of literature (who have assumed it to be Lopez), was conjecturally given as Juan (Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña ó Descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid* [*Siglo XVI*], Madrid, 1891, p. 124 n.). The real form appears to be Gabriel (*Ibid.*, Parte Tercera (1621 al 1625), Madrid, 1907, pp. 418-20). It is impossible to say whether Cervantes wrote his sonnet before April 19, 1584, the date of the licence of Lopez Maldonado's *Cancionero*: he must clearly have written it before January 29, 1586, the date of the *Fé de erratas*.

[2] The *Philosophia cortesana moralizada* is usually said to have been first published in 1587, but 1567 is the date given by Pascual de Gayangos and Enrique de Vedia in their translation of Ticknor (*Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1851-6, vol. III, p. 556). It is doubtful whether this *Philosophia cortesana moralizada* is identical with the *Proverbios morales* of Barros (Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, &c. [*Siglo XVI*], pp. 131-2): the balance of probabilities is against the theory, but as copies of the *Philosophia* are unknown, it is impossible to speak with any certainty on the point.

[3] Cervantes's sonnet was perhaps written soon after December 30, 1586, when Padilla obtained a licence from the Provincial of his Order: the Tasa of the *Grandezas* is dated June 10, 1587.

The poems mentioned in the text are reprinted in *Obras completas de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1863-4, vol. VIII, pp. 426-7 (to Lopez Maldonado), p. 428 (to Barros), p. 425 (to Padilla).

[4] Padilla joined the Carmelites at Madrid on August 6, 1585.

Behind every book there stands a human being: to write he must have some of the decencies of life. It is useless to disguise the fact: Cervantes could not obtain these decencies by means of his pen. One of the greatest men in literary history, he had so far failed. He abandoned literature for the simple reason that it did not give him his daily bread, and he took to other honest journeyman's work which, though distasteful and ill-paid, enabled him to keep body and soul together for the next six or seven years.

VI

Preparations for fitting out the Armada were being made on a large scale. Through the influence apparently of Diego de Valdivia, Alcalde de la Real Audiencia in Seville, Cervantes obtained a post as commissary in 1587. During the autumn of that year he was sent to requisition wheat at Écija, as well as at Castro del Río, Espejo and La Rambla.[1] On January 22, 1588, he was formally appointed commissary by the *proveedor general* Antonio de Guevara, who was now upon the spot to direct operations, and who sent Cervantes to Écija to collect oil, describing him as a diligent, careful man, experienced in such matters.[1] To be sure, these words do not mean very much.[2] It so happened that Cervantes's previous proceedings at Écija had brought him into trouble; he had incautiously taken possession of bread, wheat, and barley belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Seville, and had been duly excommunicated.[3] On February 24, 1588, he empowered a certain Fernando de Silva to take all necessary steps to have his excommunication annulled.[4] Probably the matter was comfortably arranged, for on June 15 [1] and July 9 [2] Cervantes was again entrusted with the work of requisitioning at Écija. Save for visits to Marchena [3] for the purpose of collecting oil in September and November, he continued at Écija during the summer and early autumn of 1588.[4] It was a harassing year for him, and, except the preliminary sonnet which he contributed to a treatise on kidney-disease, and two odes (one prophetic and one condolatory) on the Armada,[5] he made no contributions to literature.

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[1] The date of these visits is disclosed in Agustín de Cetina's *data* (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 98–112). Moreover, speaking by his deputy Marcos de Bonilla on February 25, 1589, Cervantes refers to his visit to Écija in 'el año pasado de quinientos y ochenta e siete' (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 149), and in his affidavit of August 27, 1590, he again gives the date as 1587 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 181–3). From the *recepta* of Agustín de Cetina, dated November 24, 1592 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 229), it appears that Cervantes received 112 days' salary for commissions executed by order of Valdivia. Hence his service can scarcely have begun later than August 1587.

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos Cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 113–14: 'Por quanto para prouission de los galeones del Rei Nuestro Señor y de las demas naos de armada que por su mandado se van aprestando y juntando este presente año para cosas de su real servicio, es neçesario se tomen y saquen quatro mill arobas de açeite en la ciudad de Eçija . . . y conviene nombrar una persona de diligençia y cuidado que vaya a lo susodicho, y porque la de Miguel de Çervantes, residente en esta ciudad, es tal qual se requiere para ello por la platica y experiençia que tiene de semexantes cosas y por la satisfacion que tengo de su persona, por la presente le nombro, ordeno y mando que, luego que esta mi comission le sea entregada, con vara alta de justicia se parta a la dicha ciudad de Eçija y saque en ella las dichas quatro mill arrouas de açeite de poder de qualesquier personas que lo tubieren . . .' Too much importance has been given to the laudatory words in this document: they are a common form.

[2] Slightly varied, the laudatory phrases reappear in Guevara's order of June 15, 1588 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 118–19): '. . . es neçesario y forçosso . . . que se nombren personas que entiendan en ello con mucho cuidado y diligençia, y teniendo entendido que la de Miguel de Çervantes Saavedra es qual conviene por la entera satisfazion que tengo de su persona que lo hará con el cuidado y presteza quel negoçio requiere, y por la pratica y esperiençia de semejantes cosas, le he querido nombrar . . .'

[3] This follows from the document mentioned in the next note: see also Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 395–402.

[4] José María Asensio y Toledo, *Nuevos Documentos para ilustrar la vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Sevilla, 1864), pp. 1–2.

During the lull which followed the defeat of the Armada, Cervantes made Seville his centre, living probably with Tomas Gutierrez, a retired stroller to whom he was indebted for much kindness.[6] The record of his life in 1589 makes dull reading. He was busy on professional expeditions[1]; busy handing in his accounts,[2] reporting through his deputy on the poor quality of the wheat which he had embargoed at Écija[3] (a place to which he still paid an occasional visit on business[4]); acknowledging the receipt of arrears of salary[5]; standing security for the rent of an illiterate woman who may have been his landlady[6]; settling debts with his friend Gutierrez,[7] and authorizing one of his subordinates to collect Heaven knows what strange jumble of debts which he

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 118–22.

[2] The document referring to this commission of July 9, 1588, was first published by Sr. D. Ramón León Máinez in *El Manifiesto* (Cádiz, April 25, 1888): he reprints it in *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 276–7.

[3] Guevara's instructions to Cervantes to proceed to Marchena were issued on September 5, 1588 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 134–6). Cervantes would seem to have been in Marchena on the following dates: September 17, 18, 19, 20, October 26, and November 4 of the year 1588, and September 18, 1589 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 220–2).

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 137–47.

[5] The treatise is the *Tratado nvevamente impresso, de todas las enfermedades de los Riñones, Vexiga, y Carnosidades de la verga, y Vrina, diuidido en tres libros* (Madrid, 1588), by Francisco Diaz, surgeon to the King. The odes were first printed by Sr. D. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo* (Madrid, 1899), vol. I, pp. 413–27.

[6] Asensio y Toledo, *Nuevos Documentos*, pp. 8–11. This document, dated June 26, 1589, contains the following statements: '. . . e yo el dicho Tomas Gutierrez doy por libre e quito agora e para siempre jamas a vos el dicho Miguel de Cervantes de todos maravedis e otras

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cosas que me aveis sido deudor en todos los tiempos pasados hasta el dia de hoy por cedulas conoscimientos y escrituras y otros recaudos y de prestamos e cuentas que con vos he tenido y de la posada que os he dado como de otras cualquiera cosas e contrataciones que con vos he tenido por que todo lo que asi me aveis sido deudor en cualquier manera todo me lo aveis dado e pagado y de vos lo he rescebido en reales de contado y es en mi poder de gusto y contento pagado y entregado a mi voluntad. . . .'

[1] This appears from the items in Miguel de Oviedo's *recepta* dated Seville, May 30, 1592 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 221–2).

[2] The account drawn up by Cervantes on February 6, 1589, is reproduced in facsimile by José Miguel Guardia in his translation: *Le Voyage au Parnasse* (Paris, 1864).

[3] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 148–56. Cervantes's deputy, Marcos de Bonilla, called (Écija, February 25, 1589) five local witnesses to prove that the wheat seized in 1587 was 'muy ruin y apaulado y mal acondicionado'.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 165–7. At Écija, March 14, 1589, Cervantes signed a receipt for 100 *ducados* on account of his salary.

[5] See the document mentioned in the last note.

[6] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 168–70. Gonzalo Ruiz Bermudez sub-let to Geronima de Alarcon a house (or houses) in the Magdalena quarter for the remaining seven months of his lease (from June 1, 1589). Cervantes stood security for the woman, who was unable to write.

[7] Asensio y Toledo, *Nuevos Documentos*, pp. 8–11.

alleged to be due to him in money and kind—'jewels, clothes, merchandise, slaves, wines, hens, and other things.'[1]

Cervantes was lucky enough to keep his post after the defeat of the Armada. On February 12, 1590, he was at Carmona, at his wits' end as to how he should carry out his instructions to requisition supplies of oil.[2] On March 27[3] and May 16[4] we meet him in Seville, signing receipts for arrears of salary. He had hitherto been paid—not always punctually—at the rate of twelve *reales* a day; but the end of that golden age was in sight, and it was tolerably certain that a reduction of wages would take place before long. He had no prospects of advancement where he was; his work was not interesting, and there was no opening for him in Spain. Accordingly, in May 1590, he drew up a petition to the King, recalling his past services and those of his brother, and begging to be nominated to one of four posts then vacant in America:—

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–7. This document is dated June 26, 1589: the documents mentioned in the two previous notes were signed on the same day. The assistant, Miguel de Santa Maria, received the same official salary as Cervantes himself: namely 12 *reales* a day (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 171 and 173).

[2] *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid), May 1887, vol. X, p. 330. The document is reprinted by Sr. Máinez (*Cervantes y su época*, p. 264), and by Sr. Cotarelo y Mori (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 136).

[3] Asensio y Toledo, *Nuevos Documentos*, pp. 12-13. This is a receipt for 400 *reales*.

[4] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 173–4. This is a receipt for 180 *reales* for work done at Carmona and Seville between March 28 and April 9: in this case payment was unusually prompt.

(1) the accountantship of the Kingdom of New Granada, (2) the governorship of the province of Soconusco in Guatemala, (3) the paymastership of the galleys of Cartagena (in what is now known as Colombia), and (4) the magistracy of La Paz (in the present republic of Bolivia). The petition reached the Consejo de Indias on May 21, 1590; it was rejected on June 6, and on that day Doctor Nuñez Morquecho wrote at the foot of the petition the very sensible, commonplace advice that Cervantes had better look about for something nearer home.[1] By

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[1] Though passages from Cervantes's petition have been freely quoted in previous notes, it may perhaps be well to reproduce here the whole document as printed by Sr. D. Pedro Torres Lanzas in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* (Número Extraordinario en conmemoración del centenario del *Quijote*), Madrid, May 1905, pp. 344-5:

> 'Señor:
>
> Miguel de çerbantes sahauedra dice que ha seruido á V.M. muchos años en las jornadas de mar y tierra que se han ofrescido de veinte y dos años á esta parte, particularmente en la Batalla Naual donde le dieron muchas heridas, de las quales perdio vna mano de vn arcabuçaco — y al año siguiente fue á Nauarino y despues á la de Tunez y á la goleta, y viniendo á esta corte con cartas del señor Don Joan y del Duque de Çeça para que V.M. le hiciese merced; fue cautiuo en la galera del sol él y vn hermano suyo que tambien ha seruido á V.M. en las mismas jornadas y fueron lleuados á argel donde gastaron el patrimonio que tenian en rescatarse y toda la hazienda de sus padres y los dotes de dos hermanas donçellas que tenia, las quales quedaron pobres por rescatar á sus hermanos, y despues de liuertados fueron á seruir á V.M. en el reyno de Portugal y á las terceras con el marques de Santa cruz, y agora al presente estan siruiendo y siruen á V.M. el vno dellos en flandes de alferez y el miguel de çerbantes fue el que traxo las cartas y auisos del alcayde de Mostagan y fue á oran por orden de V.M. y despues asistido siruiendo en seuilla en negoçios de la armada por orden de Antonio de guebara, como consta por

refusing Cervantes's petition the Consejo de Indias saved *Don Quixote* to the world.

For the moment, Cervantes was condemned to continue his tedious routine work—making up his books, having his accounts checked by the Treasury at Madrid. The personal note is seldom audible in the official record of his doings, but there are signs that he was in very low water in this year of 1590, when he thought of leaving Spain. On July 14, he

las informaciones que tiene, y en todo este tiempo no se le ha hecho merced ninguna. Pide y suplica humilmente quanto puede á V.M. sea seruido de haçerle merçed de *vn oficio en las yndias de* los tres ó quatro que al presente estan vacos, que es el vno la contaduria del nuebo Reyno de granada, ó la gouernaçion de la probinçia de soconusco en guatimala, ó contador de las galeras de cartagena, ó corregidor de la ciudad de la Paz, que con qualquiera de estos officios que V.M. le haga merced la resçiuira por que es hombre auil y sufficiente y benemerito para que V.M. le haga merced, por que su desseo es á continuar siempre en el seruicio de V.M. y acauar su vida como lo han hecho sus antepassados, que en ello resciuira muy gran bien y merced.

Su Señoria
Senores: gasca
medina
D. Luis
dr. gonzalez flores
tudanca
valtodano
agustín aluarez de Toledo

busque por acá en que se le haga merced, en madrid á 6 de junio 1590.
El doctor nuñez morquecho.'

On the back of the document is written: 'Miguel de Cerbantes sahauedra. A 21 de Mayo 1590. Al presidente del consejo de Indias.'

Sr. Torres Lanzas gives the names of the members who formed the Council in 1590: President, D. Hernando de la Vega y de Fonseca. Councillors: Licenciado D. Diego Gasca de Salazar, Licenciado Medina de Zarauz, Licenciado D. Luis de Mercado, Doctor Pedro Gutiérrez Florez, Licenciado Pedro Diez de Tudanca, Licenciado Benito Rodríguez Baltodano, Licenciado Agustín Alvarez de Toledo. *Relator:* Doctor Nuñez Morquecho.

empowered his wife and his sister Magdalena—both resident in Madrid at this time—to collect all manner of debts owing to him.[1] He needed all the money he could scrape together. The Administration, though remiss in paying its servants, was punctilious in examining their accounts; though their salaries were in arrears, they were expected to make long journeys, and to pay all incidental expenses without drawing upon the public funds which passed through their hands.[2] The thing could not be done. Cervantes was zealous enough as a commissary, but he had no head for figures, and the unmethodical man had to deal with complex, confused entries which might have puzzled a trained accountant. He was constantly occupied in producing his vouchers[3]; he had before him the prospect of going to Madrid to have his accounts examined; and when the time for this ordeal came (in December 1590) he empowered a substitute to act for him.[4] Meanwhile, he was in a state of poverty extreme. One little fact speaks volumes. On November 8, 1590, he needed some common cloth to cover his nakedness, and he obtained it at last from Miguel de Caviedes and Company of Seville: but not till his friend Gutierrez became security for the price (ten ducats), and not till he and Gutierrez had signed a bond in the presence of four notaries—enough to guarantee the National Debt.[1]

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 175-8.

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 399.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 181-93 (Seville, August 27, 1590); pp. 194-9 (Seville, September 26, 1590); pp. 200-5 (Seville, October 7, 1590).

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 215-16. On December 3, 1590, Cervantes gave his power of attorney to Juan Serón, Antonio de Guevara's secretary.

On March 12, 1591, Cervantes commissioned Juan de Tamayo to collect 110,400 *maravedis*—arrears of salary overdue since 1588 for work done at Écija.[2] He vanishes till October 15, and then we only see him for a moment engaged on business with the authorities at Estepa.[3] Nominally resident at Seville, from about the end of 1591 to the middle of 1592 he was engaged in foraging on a roving commission issued by the new *proveedor general*, Pedro de Isunza, who had succeeded Guevara in April 1591.[4] On the strength of a few formal phrases about his subordinates, it has been thought that Isunza had a high opinion of Cervantes.[1] If so, he had an odd way of showing it. Like another commissioner nearer our own time, Cervantes was

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 212–14. A note in the margin of the document, made by Andrés de Lederma, one of the clerks employed by Caviedes and Company, indicates that the cloth was paid for by March 22, 1591.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 217–18.

[3] Julián Apraiz y Sáenz del Burgo, *Cervantes Vascófilo ó sea Cervantes vindicado de su supuesto antivizcainismo* . . . Nueva edición considerablemente aumentada (Vitoria, 1895), p. 140. The writer quotes from a note sent him by Asensio y Toledo: 'En el cabildo celebrado por el concejo de la villa de Estepa el 15 de Octubre de 1591, entraron Diego Ruiz Sanz y Miguel de Cervantes, comisarios de S. M. . . . y los oficiales del cabildo se obligaron á entregar 500 fanegas de trigo y 200 de cebada, en precio cada una de 14 y 6 reales respectivamente.' This summarizes an original official document.

[4] Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 76–7. 'La esperanza de mejorarla [su fortuna], contrayendo nuevos méritos y servicios, le obligó á continuar de comisario del proveedor Pedro de Isunza en los años de 1591 y 1592, desempeñando como tal varios encargos para las provisiones de las galeras de España en las villas de Teba, Ardales, Martos, Linares, Aguilar, Monturque, Arjona, Porcuna, Marmolejo, Estepa, Pedrera, Lopera, Arjonilla, Las Navas, Villanueva del Arzobispo, Begijar, Alcaudete y Alora . . .'

> Highly commended—and docked of his pay.

About this period his salary was reduced from twelve to ten *reales* a day.[2] The arrears came in slowly,[3] and in some cases remained unpaid,[4] yet Cervantes was ready to lend money[5] and stand security for others.[6] The net was closing round him. But he was undismayed. In the year 1591 appeared *Los Celos*, a *romance* of which he was particularly proud.[1]

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[1] Apraiz, *Cervantes Vascófilo*, p. 143. The phrases occur in a letter (dated from Puerto de Santa María, January 7, 1592) from Isunza to the King: 'Porque los que confinan con el distrito de Andrés de Çerio, son Diego de rruy Sáenz, Miguel de Ceruantes Saavedra, Bartolomé de Arredondo y Gaspar de Salamanca Maldonado, hombres honrrados y de mucha confiança, y annsí tengo por cierto que á ninguno destos hallará embarraçado el Corregidor de Córdoua en cossa que sea hurto, ni cohecho. . .' Isunza makes no distinction between Cervantes and the rest. He confines himself to saying that they are trustworthy men who are not given to theft or corruption. He could scarcely say less.

[2] There is no written evidence as to when the reduction was first made. But it was in force before October 24, 1592 (Asensio, *Nuevos Documentos*, pp. 30–1).

[3] On June 27, 1592, Cervantes authorized Diego de Ruy Sayez to receive arrears of salary on his behalf. To judge from his receipt to Ruy Sayez (July 14, 1592), these arrears seem to have been paid by instalments at various places (*Ibid.*, pp. 14–18).

[4] As late as March 12, 1591, Cervantes had not received 110,400 *maravedis* due to him for work done in 1588-9 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 217–18).

[5] Asensio y Toledo, *Nuevos Documentos*, p. 15. In his power of attorney to Ruy Sayez, Cervantes instructs him to recover 340 *reales* lent to his assistant Nicolas Benito.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 19–23. On August 5, 1592, Cervantes stood security for a Valencian named Juan Fortuni, who was suing one Antonio Centeno.

In 1592 there came to light a circumstance, or series of circumstances, which can scarcely have failed to shake the confidence of the authorities in Cervantes's discretion. A year earlier (in 1591) one of his assistants named Nicolas Benito had visited Teba,[2] forced the doors of the state granaries there under the charge of Salvador de Toro, and seized a quantity of barley and wheat which were sent respectively to Málaga and to certain biscuit-makers at Antequera.[3] Like all other officials, Toro had to

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[1] *Los Celos* is said to have been published in Andrés de Villalta's *Flor de varios y nueuos romances* (Valencia, 1591). It is reprinted in *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, pp. 440–2. Cervantes refers to it approvingly in the *Viage del Parnaso.*

[2] The date of Benito's proceedings is usually given as 1592, and this date is repeated in Sr. Gredilla's summary of documents at Simancas (Apraiz, *Cervantes Vascófilo*, pp. 146–7). As will be seen in the next note, Cervantes refers the seizure at Teba to 1591: his statements were made on August 5 and August 8, 1592, and are likely to be correct, as no great length of time had elapsed between the seizure and his depositions concerning it. But the matter is not free from obscurity, for in a sworn declaration of April 28, 1598 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 246–9), Cervantes seems to refer the seizure to 1592.

[3] Asensio y Toledo, *Nuevos Documentos*, pp. 24–5. 'En la ciudad de Sevilla a cinco dias del mes de Agosto de mil quinientos y noventa y dos años . . . parescio presente Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra . . . y dijo que se hacia y hizo cargo de mil y ciento y treinta y siete fanegas y dos quartillos de trigo y de quinientas y diez fanegas de cebada que Nicolas Benito su ayudante saco por el en la villa de Teba de las Tercias Reales que estaban á cargo de Salvador de Toro el año pasado de noventa y uno el cual dicho trigo y cebada lo hizo conducir con diferentes arrieros el dicho Nicolas Benito a las ciudades de Malaga y Antequera . . .'

Apraiz, *Cervantes Vascófilo*, pp. 148–9. 'Certifico yo Miguel de give an account of his stewardship, and, as Isunza paid no attention to his applications for payment of the 645,563 *maravedis* which he claimed,[1] Toro rather spitefully obtained an order for execution against Isunza's personal estate.[2] Both parties became exasperated. During the summer of 1592 Cervantes was twice called upon to give his version of the matter,[3] and in the month of December he drew up a report on the subject addressed to the King through the Council of War.[4] In this report he took the responsibility on his own shoulders, and protested against the precipitate action of the court in granting the order against Isunza. This speaks well for Cervantes's loyalty, and his heat is pardonable, for it seems to have been hinted that the barley and

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cerbantes saavedra Comisario de Su Mag^{t}. que . . . saco por mi orden y del s^{r}. Prouedor en la villa de Teba mil y ciento y treynta y siete fanegas de trigo y mas dos quartillos el ano Pasado de noventa y uno y ansimesmo quinientas y diez fanegas y media y tres quartillos de cebada el qual dicho trigo y cebada saco nicolás Benito mi ayudante de lo que estaba á cargo de saluador de Toro el qual dicho trigo y cebada lo hizo conduzir el dicho mi ayudante a la Ciudad de Antequera a poder de pedro de la siega y de manuel de Ribera á quien se hauia de entregar Para hazerse vizcocho . . . y dare cuenta cada y quando que se me pidiere de la entrega del dicho trigo a los dichos vizcocheros que lo convirtieren en vizcocho para servicio de su Mag^{t}. . . .'

[1] Application for payment was made, apparently, on July 18, 1592 (Apraiz, *Cervantes Vascófilo*, p. 147).

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 223-5.

[3] On August 5 and 8: extracts from his testimony on both occasions are given on p. 81, n. 3.

[4] December 1, 1592 (Apraiz, *Cervantes Vascófilo*, p. 149). Cervantes had not heard the last of the Teba misadventure at this date; we find him being called upon for explanations as late as 1598: see p. 102, n. 1.

wheat had been put to private uses, instead of being employed in the public service.[1] But the official mind makes little account of personal loyalty and less of individual sensitiveness, and the Teba episode cannot have produced a favourable impression at head-quarters. There Cervantes became known as a man apt to get into hot water.

The irregularities at Teba did not stand alone. The official accountants had examined Cervantes's bills and vouchers, and discovered a deficit of 27,046 *maravedis*. This is not, indeed, a formidable amount, but it was impossible for Cervantes to find such a sum immediately, and naturally enough the Treasury came down for the money on his sureties at Écija[2]—

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[1] Morán, *Vida*, facsimile facing p. 207. 'Señor: Miguel de cerbantes Saauedra digo que a mi noticia a venido que el fiscal de Vra Mgd y saluador de Toro piden a pedro de isunza . . . que de su hazienda pague el valor del trigo y cebada que del dicho saluador de Toro se tomo para el seruicio de V. Mgd y que por ello esta executado y quieren dezir que el dicho trigo se uendio Para particulares aprouechamientos y no se conuertio en seruicio de V. Mgd. y yo como comisario . . . lo deje sacar a mis ayudantes y entregar a los tenedores de bastimentos y vizcocheros en las ciudades de Malaga y antequera de los quales tengo los rescebos para por ello dar cuenta y la cebada se conuertio en pagar los acarretos y portes e yo me e hecho cargo dello y tengo de dar cuenta de todo con lo demas que es de mi cargo y no es justo que del dicho prouedor ni de mi se diga cosa semejante como la que se opone ni que el dicho prouedor sea injustam^{e} molestado. . . .'

This document is also given by Dr. Apraiz (*Cervantes Vascófilo*, p. 149), who adds an additional paragraph: 'Otrosí suplico á V. M. mande que el juez sobresea hasta que se sepa la verdad de este negocio, porque no es justo que por una simple petición del delator, sin otra información alguna, sea creído y más contra tán fiel criado de S. M. como lo es el dicho Proveedor Pedro de Isunza.—Miguel de cervantes Saavedra.' This is dated December 1, 1592.

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 226–7.

one of whom was a widow.[1] It is difficult to judge how far Cervantes was the victim of circumstances, or how much he was to blame for keeping his books carelessly. No one supposes for an instant that he was guilty of any dishonourable conduct. It may be that he was able later on to make good the loss suffered by his sureties. But the fact that he placed them in the position of having to suffer is one of the regrettable incidents in his career. As against this, we may perhaps set his good-nature in standing security for Juan Fortuni (August 5, 1592), a Valencian whom he can have known but slightly.[2]

In 1592 there appeared at Burgos in the *Flor de romances* collected by Sebastian Velez de Guevara an anonymous *romance* entitled *El Desden*[3] which is attributed to Cervantes. The ascription is intrinsically likely. When all other trades fail, a man who can write bethinks himself of literature as a port in a storm. It was only in the nature of things, then, that at Seville on September 5, 1592, Cervantes should sign a contract with a theatrical manager, Rodrigo Osorio, binding himself to write six plays on terms some of which are worth quoting:—(1) the author to deliver the plays one by one, as they are written—*con la claridad que convenga*; (2) each play to be performed within twenty days of delivery of the manuscript, and each to be paid for at the rate of fifty *ducados* if it should be regarded as one of the best ever put on the Spanish stage; (3) payment to be made within a week of the first performance of each play; (4) if a play were not given within twenty days of its delivery, the play to be regarded as accepted, and payment to follow as in the case of a play duly performed; (5) if two plays were delivered simultaneously, both were to be produced within two successive periods of twenty days; (6) if, after performance, it should appear that one of the six plays could not rank as one of the best ever put on the Spanish stage, no payment to be made for it.[1]

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[1] 'Maria de Aguilar, madre de Hernando de Aguilar Quijada,' as she appears in the document. The men concerned were Fernan Lopez de Torres, Francisco de Orduña, and the licentiate Acuña.

[2] Asensio y Toledo, *Nuevos Documentos*, pp. 19-23. Fortuni sued Antonio Centeno, a knight of St. John residing at Ciudad Rodrigo and formerly a slave at Algiers, for 4,200 reales: part of this was for the balance of Centeno's ransom, and part for money lent to Centeno at Valencia to enable him to buy clothes and other necessaries after his release. Judgement was given in favour of Fortuni, on condition that he found bail. Possibly this is the Fortunyo with whom Cervantes's mother had dealings (see p. 46, n. 2).

[3] *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863-1864), vol. VIII, pp. 442-4.

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[1] Asensio y Toledo, *Nuevos Documentos*, pp. 26–9. 'Sepan quantos esta carta vieren como yo Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra . . . otorgo e conosco que soy convenido y concertado con vos Rodrigo Osorio . . . que estais presente en tal manera que yo tengo de ser obligado e me obligo de componer dende hoy en adelante y entregaros en los tiempos que pudiere seis comedias de los casos y nombres que a mi me paresciere para que las podais representar y os las dare escritas con la claridad que convenga una a una como las fuere componiendo con declaracion que dentro de veinte dias primeros siguientes que se cuenten dende el dia que os entregare cada comedia aueis de ser obligado de la representar en publico y paresciendo que es una de las mejores comedias que se han representado en España seais obligado de me dar e pagar por cada una de las dichas comedias cincuenta ducados los cuales me aueis de dar e

These conditions imply that Cervantes felt confident of the verdict of the public. But the agreement came to nothing, apparently: perhaps because Cervantes was sentenced to imprisonment at Castro del Río on September 19, 1592, within a fortnight of signing his contract with Osorio. He was once more in trouble because of alleged irregularities at Écija. Francisco Moscoso, *corregidor* of Écija, held that Cervantes had made an illegal seizure of wheat in that town, ordered him to restore it or pay the price within a fortnight, fined him 6,000 *maravedis*, and sentenced him to pay all costs (including four days' salary for the judge and the officers of the court).[1] The circumstances are obscure, but it would seem that Moscoso's decision was unduly harsh, for Cervantes was released on bail. He soon found himself in fresh difficulties. The government auditors again overhauled his books, and on November 24 they reckoned that the balance against him

pagar el dia que la representardes o dentro de ocho dias de como la ovierdes representado y si dentro de los dichos veinte dias no representardes en publico cada una de las dichas comedias se ha de entender que estais contento y satisfecho dellas y me aueis de pagar por cada una dellas los dichos cincuenta ducados de qualquier suerte que sea aunque no las hayais representado y si os entregare dos comedias juntas para cada una dellas aueis de tener de termino para representarla los dichos veinte dias y se han de contar sucesivos unos en pos de otros e yo tengo de ser creido con solo mi juramento y declaracion en cuanto aueros entregado las dichas comedias . . . y si aviendo representado cada comedia paresciere que no es una de las mejores que se han representado en España no seais obligado de me pagar por la tal comedia cosa alguna por que asi soy con vos de acuerdo y concierto las cuales dichas comedias me aueis de pagar siendo tales como esta dicho a mi o a quien mi poder oviere en la parte y lugar donde os la entregare. . . .'

[1] Morán, *Vida*, pp. 336-7.

amounted to 128,281 *maravedis.*[1] In August his accounts had shown a deficit of 27,046 *maravedis*, and that sum had been recovered from his sureties at Écija.[2] That this deficit should have increased more than fourfold in three months indicated great carelessness on the part of somebody, and it is by no means clear that the carelessness was all on the side of Cervantes. For instance, in January 1593 it occurred to the auditors to ask Cervantes for particulars of a commission for which he had received payment as far back as 1590.[3] Some mistakes and oversights will happen under the best of systems: the system under which Cervantes worked was such as to make confusion inevitable.

Blunders were, in fact, so frequent that the discrepancies in his accounts did not cost him the confidence of his superiors. It is possible that his loyalty to Isunza, a wrong-headed man whose obstinacy in refusing to pay Toro was responsible for the stir raised over the Teba episode, may have influenced the *proveedor general* in his favour; still, it is to be noted that, even after the death of Isunza on June 24, 1593, Cervantes continued to be employed by Isunza's temporary successor, Miguel de Oviedo. On July 7, 1593, Cervantes received instructions to collect wheat in the district extending twelve miles round Seville,[4] and on the following day was provided with funds for the purpose.[1] On July 8, also, he received payment for commissions executed in the previous autumn at Écija, Marchena, El Arahal and Utrera.[2] It would almost seem as though he anticipated difficulties in the near future: for on July 12, before starting on his expedition, he signed a sweeping power of attorney authorizing Juan de Salinas to act for him in all suits and proceedings, criminal or civil, in which he might be concerned.[3] On August 19 his commission was extended, and he was instructed to collect wheat at Llerena, Villagarcía, and the surrounding districts.[4]

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 232.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 226–7.

[3] Morán, *Vida*, p. 338.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 337; Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 242.

The record of his flittings from one place to another is imperfect, yet we can track him at some points by the receipts which he signed as he went his way: at Villalba del Alcor on September 12, at La Palma on September 17, at Villarasa on September 19, at Ruciana and Bollullos on September 21, at Paterna on October 12, at Almonte on November 24, at Niebla on November 26, 1593; at Villamanrique on January 26, 1594, and at Jerena on February 16.[1] While thus engaged Cervantes lost his mother: she died at some date between September 15 and November 9, 1593.[2]

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[1] Morán, p. 337.

[2] Asensio, *Nuevos Documentos*, pp. 30–1. The amount of arrears was 600 *reales*. Cervantes's receipt gives the rate of wages: '. . . . mi salario de sesenta dias a rrazon de diez rreales cada dia. . . .'

[3] *Ibid.* 32–4. 'Sepan quantos esta carta vieren como yo Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra . . . otorgo e conosco que doy todo mi poder cumplido . . . a Juan de Salinas . . . para en todos e qualesquier mis pleitos causas y negosios seviles y criminales movidos y por mover que yo tengo y tuviere de aqui adelante . . . pueda parescer y paresca ante su majestad y ante los señores Presidentes y oydores de las sus rreales audensias y chancillerias y ante otro qualesquiera alcaldes e jueses e justisias eclesiasticas y seglares de qualquier fuero e jurisdision que sean antellos y qualesquier dellos pedir e sacar e ganar e aver qualesquier cartas e Provisiones rreales que a mi derecho convengan e pedir e demandar e rresponder e negar e conoser e defender e pedir e rrequerir e querellar e confrontar e protestar testimonio o testimonios e pedir e tomar toda rrazon execusion y difinision por my y en my nomvre poner y desir y alegar y declinar jurisdision de qualesquier justisias,' &c.

[4] Morán, *Vida*, p. 337; Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 241–5.

Presumably the requisitions were carried out successfully. We have no news of Cervantes till June 30, 1594, when the auditors Pedro Ruiz de Otalora and Francisco Vazquez de Obregon passed his accounts for work done at Écija in 1588.[3] Somewhat earlier than this it is evident that Cervantes was commissioned to collect arrears of taxation—amounting to nearly two million and a half *maravedis*—in the province of Granada; for on July 1, 1594, he appeared before the *corregidor* of Madrid, and named Francisco Suarez Gasco of Tarancón as his security to the amount of a million and a half

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[1] The dates are derived from a mutilated document given by Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 242–5.

[2] This appears from the lease, and the transfer of the lease, printed by Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 102–7. On September 15, 1593, Doña Leonor, who was living with her daughter Magdalena, obtained the extension of the lease of a house which she had taken in the Calle de Leganitos at a yearly rent of fifty *ducados*. On November 9, 1593, Magdalena made over the lease to Alonso de Paredes—' por no tener necesidad, por haber muerto la dicha su madre, de la dicha casa. . . .' (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 105–7).

[3] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 234–40.

maravedis.[1] On August 1 Suarez Gasco signed the necessary deed[2]; but as his guarantee fell short of the sum due by nearly a million *maravedis*, and as his reputation did not stand high in other respects,[3] the Treasury officials asked for further securities.[4] Cervantes was unable to offer them, and, on August 20, he tried to overcome the objections of the accountant Enrique de Araiz by pointing out that he was himself a responsible married man of established credit.[5] Araiz allowed himself to be persuaded, and consented to accept Cervantes and his wife as additional securities[1]; on the next day (August 21) the pair executed a joint deed assuming the necessary responsibility.[2]

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[1] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 418 : 'Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, vecino de la villa de Esquivias, residente en esta corte, digo : que para la seguridad é paga de una cobranza que por los señores contadores mayores del consejo de contaduría mayor de S. M. en que estoy nombrado, de cantidad de 2,459,989 mrs. que á S. M. y á su real hacienda se deben en el reino de Granada de lo procedido de las tercias y alcabalas reales y otras cosas á S. M. pertenecientes, tengo ofrescido por mi fiador á D. Francisco Suarez, vecino de la villa de Tarancon, hasta en cantidad de 4,000 ducados, que valen 1,500,000 mrs., y tengo necesidad de averiguar con informacion de testigos de abono . . .'

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 419–21.

[3] He was suspected of attempting to murder his wife in 1591 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 402 n.); see also Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 422.

[4] This appears from the document quoted in the next note.

[5] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 421 : 'Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, digo : que V. A. le ha hecho merced de una comision para cobrar 2,000,500 y tantos mil mrs. que se deben á S. M. de fincas en el reino de Granada, para lo cual ha dado fianzas de 4,000 ducados vistas y admitidas por V. A., y con todo esto el contador Enrique de Araiz me pide mas fianzas á cumplimiento de la dicha cobranza. A V. A. suplico, atento que yo no tengo mas fianzas, y que son bastantes 4,000 ducados, y ser yo hombre conocido, de crédito y casado en este lugar, V. A. le mande se contente y me despache luego, que en ello recibiré mucha merced. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.'

According to Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 421) the whole of this document is in Cervantes's handwriting. On the back it bears the date : 'En Madrid á xx de agosto 1594.'

Meanwhile, on August 13, Cervantes was further commissioned to collect arrears at Vélez Málaga,[3] and on August 23 he received modified instructions as to his duties at Granada.[1] He set to work promptly to earn his salary—now raised to something over sixteen *reales* a day.[2] He had dispatched his business at Guadix, and had reached Baza by September 9[3]; on October 8 he would seem to have drawn up a report of the difficulties he had encountered at Almuñécar, Motril, Salobreña, and Granada[4]; on November 17 he reported from Málaga that he had collected arrears at Baza, Guadix, Agüela de Granada and Loja, and asked for an

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[1] Enrique de Araiz endorsed the petition as follows: 'Que se despache la comision con las fianzas que tiene dadas y con que se obligue él y su muger' (Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 422).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 422-5: '. . . parescieron presentes Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra y Doña Catalina de Salazar y Palacios, su muger . . . otorgaron que se obligaban y obligaron debajo de la dicha mancomunidad, que el dicho Miguel de Cervantes dará la dicha cuenta con pago, leal y verdadera, y pagarán el alcance ó alcances que se le hicieren . . . y para el cumplimiento dello, y debajo de la dicha mancomunidad segun dicho es, obligaron sus personas y bienes muebles é raices, habidos y por haber . . . E la dicha Doña Catalina de Salazar, por ser muger casada, renunció las leyes . . . que hablan en favor de las mugeres . . . y como sabidora dellas las renunció y juró por Dios nuestro Señor é por Santa María su bendita Madre, é por las palabras de los santos cuatro evangelios, é por una señal de cruz, tal como esta ✠ en que corporalmente puso su mano derecha en la de mí el presente scribano, de no ir ni venir contra esta scriptura, ni contra parte alguna della, agora ni en tiempo alguno, ni por alguna manera, ni por razon de su docte é arras é bienes parrafrenales y hereditarios, ni por otra causa ni razon que á ello le competa, ni dirá ni alegará que fue engañada ni atemorizada por el dicho su marido, ni que fuerza ni engaño dió dolo al contrato. . . .'

[3] The date (August 13, 1594) is derived from an *Informe* (dated Valladolid, September 10, 1601), printed by Pérez Pastor (*Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 263–4). The chronology is somewhat obscure, for August 13, 1594, is the date of a general commission issued to Cervantes in the following terms (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 425–7): 'D. Felipe por la gracia de Dios, &c.: A vos Miguel de Cervantes, sabed: que . . . se me deben en el reino de Granada de lo procedido de mis alcabalas, tercias y otras rentas hasta el tercio primero de este presente año de 1594 . . . los mrs. siguientes en esta manera . . . y porque á mi servicio y buen recaudo de mi hacienda conviene que se cobren, visto por mis contadores de la dicha mi contaduría mayor de hacienda, confiando de vos que lo hareis con el cuidado y diligencia que

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se requiere, fue acordado de vos lo cometer, y yo lo he tenido por bien: y os mando que luego vais con vara alta de mi justicia á las dichas ciudades y villas [Granada, Ronda, Loja y Alhama, Guadix y su partido, Baza, Almuñécar, Motril y Salobreña], y á las demas partes y lugares donde fuere necesario, y requerais á los dichos mis tesoreros y receptores, y á otras cualesquier personas que los debieren pagar, que os los den y paguen luego, sin poner en ello inconveniente ni dificultad alguna, cada uno la parte que le toca y fuere obligado á pagar. . . .'

This document of August 13, 1594, would seem, however, to have been held back till August 23, when Cervantes's instructions were modified as regards Granada, the modification being appended as a postscript to his general commission.

[1] These instructions are given by Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 427.

[2] Documents dated from Baza on September 10, 1594, show that Cervantes was paid at the rate of 550 *maravedis* a day, and that the authorities at Baza paid him 2,750 *maravedis*, being the amount of his salary for five days—two days spent in travelling to Baza, two days spent in going to Guadix and back, and one day spent in making up his accounts at Baza (*Ibid.*, p. 430).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 429.

[4] The document has not been discovered, but the fact is established by the *Real provision* of November 29, 1594 (*Ibid.*, pp. 431-3): 'A vos Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, que por comision mia estais en la ciudad de Granada entendiendo en cosas de mi servicio, vuestra carta de 8 de octubre deste año de 594 se vió por mis contadores de mi contaduría mayor de hacienda, y por ella avisais que . . .'

extension of twenty days to enable him to fulfil his mission at Ronda.[1] This request was granted on November 29,[2] and on December 9 his wanderings ended with the collection at Ronda of 429,849 *maravedis* (as against the Treasury claim for 454,824 *maravedis*).[3] Cervantes may have thought the business was over and done with when, on December 15, he signed at Seville a receipt for 4,000 *reales* forwarded on November 21 by Francisco Perez de Victoria, the local administrator at Vélez Málaga.[4] If so, he was to learn his mistake before long.

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[1] This holograph is reproduced by Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 431), who gives it in facsimile immediately after the list of *erratas* in his volume (p. 644, but unpaged). The communication is printed by Sr. Máinez (*Cervantes y su época*, p. 296 n.), and also by Sr. Cotarelo (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 158), who follows Sr. Máinez in modernizing the spelling. The last sentence shows where the letter was written: 'Y Puedeseme enbiar el despacho a Malaga donde qued[o] esperandole.'

[2] In the *Real provision* quoted by Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 432): '. . . para todo lo susodicho os doy el mismo poder que teneis por la dicha vuestra comision; el término de la cual se os proroga por veinte dias mas, ó los que menos fueren menester, que se cuenten desde el dia que se cumplió el que teneis, y si fuere pasado corran desde el dia que recibiéredes este despacho, de que ha de constar por testimonio signado de escribano. . . .'

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 433-4.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 434-5. This receipt contains a good example of the puzzling statements which are found in legal documents to which Cervantes put his name. Cervantes begins by acknowledging that he received from Juan Leclerque 4,000 *reales* 'librados en el banco de Gonzalo de Salazar é Juan de Carmona, de que me doy por pagado á mi voluntad'. Immediately after this comes the following contradictory statement: 'E despues de lo susodicho en la dicha ciudad de Sevilla en este dicho dia mes é año suso dicho [15 dias del mes de diciembre de 1594 años], ante mí el dicho escribano público [Juan de Velasco] pareció el dicho Miguel de Cervantes, y dijo, que no embargante que en esta carta de pago se declara haber recibido del dicho Juan Leclerque los dichos

VII

On May 7, 1595, Cervantes appears as a prize-winner in a poetical joust organized by the Dominicans of Saragossa to commemorate the canonization of St. Hyacinth[1]; he was awarded three silver spoons for a gloss[2] on a given *redondilla*, but there is no reason to suppose that he went to Saragossa to receive them.[3] He had more serious preoccupations, and must already have begun to feel uneasy as to the turn his affairs were taking at Seville and Madrid. He was on the brink of disaster. When the arrears of 4,000 *reales* from Vélez Málaga were paid over to him in Seville, to save expense he lodged this sum (together with an additional 3,400 *reales*) in the hands of Simon Freire de Lima, a Seville banker, who gave him a bill for the amount payable at Madrid. In due course Cervantes pre-

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4,000 rs. librados en el dicho banco de Gonzalo de Salazar é Juan de Carmona; la verdad es, que no se le libraron en el dicho banco de Gonzalo de Salazar, y que agora los recibe del dicho Juan Leclerque realmente y con efecto en reales de plata de contado, de que se dió por pagado á su voluntad. . . .' It is not easy to understand the object of these devices.

[1] Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 85, 443–5. There were seven competitions open to the whole of Spain; the last day on which compositions were received was April 29.

[2] Cervantes took part in the second competition; his verses and those of his rivals were read on May 2, and the first prize was awarded to him on May 7. The poem is reprinted in *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, pp. 443–4.

[3] Clemente Cortejón believed, however, that Cervantes attended in person at Saragossa (*La coartada*, Barcelona, 1903, p. 9).

sented the bill to Gabriel Rodriguez, Freire de Lima's agent at Madrid; but Rodriguez had not received the necessary funds from Freire de Lima, and the bill was dishonoured. Meanwhile, Freire de Lima had gone bankrupt for 60,000 *ducados.* After one or two fruitless journeys between Seville and Madrid, Cervantes petitioned that the 7,400 *reales* should be collected from the wreck of Freire de Lima's fortune, and that (as a debt to the Treasury) they should constitute a first claim on the bankrupt's estate.[1] All this depositing of money, presenting and rejecting of bills, coming and going between Seville and Madrid, must have taken time. On August 7, 1595, Cervantes addressed his petition to the Treasury,[2] and the matter must have been regarded as urgent, for on the same day a *Real provision* was dispatched to Bernardo de Olmedilla, judge of the Seville Court, instructing him to recover the money from what remained of Freire de Lima's property in Seville.[1] Cervantes still had in hand

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[1] The circumstances are set forth in the *Real provision* of August 7, 1595, addressed to Bernardo de Olmedilla (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 435-6): '. . . por parte de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra me ha sido hecha relacion que por mi mandado habia ido á cobrar el finca que se me debia de las alcabalas y tercias del reino de Granada, de lo cual obo de cobrar cierta cantidad de mrs. de las del partido de Velez-Málaga, y las personas que lo obieron de pagar se lo libraron en Sevilla, lo cual cobró, y por no hacer costas de traerlo á esta corte á la mia, dió 7,400 rs. á Simon Freire de Lima, mercader de esa dicha ciudad, el cual le dió cédula sobre sí mismo, á pagar en esta villa de Madrid, y por no haber venido el susodicho á ella, escribió á Gabriel Rodriguez, portugues, para que se los pagase, y no lo hizo, y en el ínterin que pasó esto habia quebrado y faltado el dicho Simon Freire de Lima, y alzádose con LX⊕ᴅᴄº., y por ver si los podia cobrar habia vuelto á esa dicha ciudad, y no habia sido posible por estar embargada su hacienda por otros acreedores, y me suplicó que atento lo susodicho, y que los dichos maravedises son de mi hacienda real, le mandase dar mi carta para que se le pagasen de la dicha hacienda, no obstante los embargos fechos en ella, ó que sobre ello proveyese como la mi merced fuese. . . .'

[2] This date is derived from an *Informe* signed by Juan de Gamboa

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and Bartolomé de Sardeneta at Valladolid on September 13, 1601 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 264–6): '. . . es que en siete de Agosto del año pasado de 595 se acudio por parte del dicho Cerbantes a la Contaduria Mayor de Hacienda, y se hizo relacion que él hubo de cobrar por su comission cantidad de maravedis en el dicho partido de Velez Malaga, y las personas que lo hubieron de pagar se lo habian librado en la dicha ciudad de Sevilla, y en ella lo habian cobrado; y por no hacer costas de traerlo a la corte, en partida de 7,400 reales los entregó a Simon Freyre de Lima, mercader, y dio cedula sobre si mismo a pagar en la dicha villa de Madrid, y al tiempo que se acudio a que lo pagase habia quebrado y no se habia podido cobrar, y pidio se diesse recaudo para que se hiciesse. . . .'

[1] The reference (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 435–6) to this *Real provision* has already been given on p. 95, n. 1. The dispositions of the *Real provision* did not correspond exactly to Cervantes's suggestions. In case there was no previous claim on Freira de Lima's estate, Olmedilla was instructed to collect the 7,400 *reales* and send the amount to Pedro Mesía de Tovar, the Accountant-General; if, however, there were antecedent claims on the bankrupt's estate, Olmedilla was to collect the 7,400 *reales* and deposit them with Diego Paulo de Bañuelos, the Receiver-General, who was to pay the money to those who made out their legal claim to it, power being reserved to proceed against Cervantes and his securities. The relevant passages of the *Real provision* are as follows: 'y os mando que luego que con ella seais requerido por parte del dicho Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, y constándoos ser asi todo lo suso contenido, con la diligencia posible averigüeis qué bienes y hacienda hay del susodicho, y en cuyo poder estan; y averiguado, y no habiendo embargos sobre ellos por deudas que sean mas antiguas que la que de suso se hace mencion, hagais que se cobren los dichos 7,400 rs., y que se invien en letras de personas seguras, ó á la menos costa que sea posible, á las mis arcas de tres llaves á poder de D. Pedro Mesía de Tovar . . . y si pareciere que sobre los dichos bienes y hacienda hay otros embargos por deudas mas antiguas que la del dicho Miguel de Cervantes, cobrareis los dichos 7,400 rs. y los inviareis á esta mi corte á poder de Diego Paulo de Bañuelos . . . para

149,600 *maravedis* collected by him in the province of Granada, and this amount he paid into the Exchequer on September 20, 1595, through his sister Magdalena.[1]

He was now adrift at Seville as one of the unemployed, and in 1596 he had time and to spare for his sonnets on the glorious Santa Cruz and the inglorious Duke of Medina Sidonia.[2] But he was not to be left at peace by his former masters. The 7,400 *reales* due from Freire de Lima were recovered by the Treasury on January 21, 1597,[3] and the auditors now proposed to check the accounts of Cervantes's commission in Andalusia during the latter half of 1594. For some inexplicable reason

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que los tenga en depósito, y de alli se paguen á quien los obiere de haber . . . y se entienda que lo contenido en esta nuestra carta en lo que en virtud della se hiciere ha de ser sin perjuicio del derecho que yo tengo contra el dicho Miguel de Cervantes y sus fiadores, porque siempre han de quedar y quedan obligados á cumplir y dar cuenta de la dicha comision, y la dicha cobranza de los dichos 7,400 rs. es por su cuenta y riesgo, y no por la mia. . . .'

[1] Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 249.

[2] *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, pp. 432, 435. The Santa Cruz sonnet appeared first in Cristobal Mosquera de Figueroa's *Comentario en breve compendio de disciplina militar* (Madrid, 1596), ff. 177 verso—178 recto; the sonnet on the Duke of Medina was first published by Juan Antonio Pellicer, *Ensayo de una bibliotheca de traductores españoles*, &c. (Madrid, 1778), Part I, pp. 160–1.

[3] The date is given in the *Informe* signed by Juan de Gamboa and Bartolomé de Sardeneta on September 13, 1601 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 264–6): 'y visto en la dicha contaduria, se dio carta el dicho dia [siete de Agosto del año pasado de 595] para que el doctor Bernardo de Olmedilla, que en aquel tiempo era Juez de los Grados de la dicha ciudad, cobrase los dichos 7,400 reales y los ymbiase a las arcas de tres llaves, el qual los cobró y los entregaron a don Pedro Mesía de Tobar, tesorero general de Su Magestad, de que dio carta de pago en 21 de Henero de 597.'

Cervantes was not in the mood to go to Madrid and submit his accounts for examination. He had all the vouchers in his possession, and his presence was therefore essential. His surety Suarez Gasco was duly notified, and was evidently afraid that the Exchequer authorities might proceed without waiting for Cervantes. Accordingly, to protect himself, he applied for a *mandamus* compelling Cervantes's attendance. On September 6, 1597, Gaspar de Vallejo, judge of the High Court at Seville, was instructed by a *Real Provision* to obtain sureties guaranteeing the appearance of Cervantes before the Exchequer Court at Madrid within twenty days, the sureties to be responsible for the presentation of Cervantes's accounts, and for the payment of whatever sum might be due by him to the Treasury; if these sureties were not obtainable, Cervantes was to be arrested, sent up to Madrid jail, and handed over to the *alcaide* of Madrid, who was to keep him in custody till further instructions were issued.[1]

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[1] Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 437–8. 'D. Felipe &c. Licenciado Gaspar de Vallejo, mi juez de la real audiencia de los grados de la ciudad de Sevilla, sabed: que en 13 dias del mes de agosto del año pasado de 594 di comision á Miguel de Cervantes para que fuese á la ciudad de Granada y otros partidos del Andalucía, y cobrase de ciertos tesoreros y receptores y otras personas 2,557,029 mrs. que los debian de finca de ciertos años, y cobrado que los hubiese los trujese á mis arcas de tres llaves: é agora por parte de D. Francisco Suarez Gasco, uno de los fiadores que el dicho Miguel de Cervantes dió para siguridad y paga de la dicha cobranza, me ha sido fecha relacion que á él y los demas fiadores se les ha notificado den cuenta de los maravedis que el susodicho cobró en virtud de la dicha comision, y que no la pueden dar si no está presente el dicho Miguel de Cervantes, el cual está en esa dicha

The wording of the *Real Provision* was clumsy, and even a little misleading. Bail was required only for a balance of 79,804 *maravedis.* Vallejo, however, took his instructions to mean that bail must be provided for the entire total of 2,557,029 *maravedis* which Cervantes had been commissioned to collect. As nobody was able (or, at least, willing) to give a guarantee for over two millions and a half, Vallejo committed Cervantes to Seville jail. In prison Cervantes apparently wrote a statement of his case, pointing out the impossibility of his obtaining sureties while away from home—*fuera de su casa,*—drawing attention to the fact that the total for which

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ciudad, y tiene en su poder los papeles en virtud de que se tiene de dar, y me suplicó le mandase dar mi carta para que compeliésedes al dicho Miguel de Cervantes á que venga á esta corte á dar la dicha cuenta, ó que sobre ello proveyese como la mi merced fuese: lo cual visto por el presidente y contadores de mi contaduría mayor de hacienda fue acordado que se hiciese ansi, y que para ello debia mandar dar esta mi carta para vos: é yo túvelo por bien, y os mando que luego que con ella fuéredes requerido por parte del dicho D. Francisco Suarez Gasco hagais que el dicho Miguel de Cervantes os dé fianzas de que dentro de veinte dias se presentará en esta corte á dar la dicha cuenta, y pagará el alcance que se le hiciere; y no dándoos las dichas fianzas le prendereis y enviareis preso y á buen recaudo á la cárcel real desta mi corte á su costa, adonde se entregará al alcaide della, al cual se notificará le tenga preso y á buen recaudo hasta que por los dichos presidente y contadores de la dicha mi contaduría mayor de hacienda se provea y mande otra cosa: lo cual ansi haced y cumplid, sin poner en ello inconveniente ni dificultad alguna; que yo lo tengo asi por bien....' As is stated in the text, this *Real Provision* is dated September 6, 1597.

'Los demas fiadores' seems to be merely an official *cliché.* The only other securities were Cervantes and his wife (see p. 91); from her little, and from him nothing, could be obtained, but Suarez Gasco, a man of some substance, was in a different position.

he had to account was not 2,557,029 *maravedis* but 79,804 *maravedis*, and asking that, as the amount was so small, he might be released on his undertaking to attend duly at Madrid. These representations had their effect. On December 1, 1597, another *Real Provision* instructed Vallejo to release the prisoner, provided Cervantes found sureties to guarantee that he would appear at Madrid within thirty days, produce his accounts, and pay the balance (79,804 *maravedis*) due from him—the sureties to be responsible for this sum.[1] After about twelve weeks' imprisonment Cervantes was set free, but there is no sign that he took any steps to fulfil the conditions on which he obtained his release. It is difficult to explain his inaction, his indifference to summonses, threats and punishment, and his failure to keep his promise. It can scarcely be pleaded that he was immersed in literature; for—unless we choose to believe the story that he began *Don Quixote* in Seville jail—none of his compositions is assigned to 1597, except the sonnet on Herrera, a poem of disputable authenticity.[1]

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[1] Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 438–9. 'D. Felipe, &c. A vos el licenciado Gaspar de Vallejo, mi juez de la real audiencia de los grados de Sevilla, sabed: que por parte de Miguel de Cervantes me ha sido fecha relacion que por mi carta y comision de 13 de agosto de 594 le habia mandado cobrar 2,557,029 mrs. que habia de finca en las alcabalas y rentas de ciertos partidos del reino . . . y que respecto de no haber venido á dar cuenta de la dicha comision, en VI de setiembre deste año de DXCVII habia dado otra mi carta, por la cual os habia mandado compeliésedes al dicho Miguel de Cervantes os diese fianzas de que dentro de XX dias se presentaria en esta corte á dar cuenta de la dicha comision y pagar el alcance que se le hiciese, y no dándoos las dichas fianzas le prendiésedes y enviásedes á buen recaudo á la cárcel real desta mi corte, para que estuviese preso en ella hasta tanto que diese la dicha cuenta, y que en virtud de la dicha mi carta le habíades preso y teníades en la cárcel real de esa dicha ciudad hasta tanto que diese fianzas de todos los dichos 2,557,029; las cuales estaba imposibilitado de poder dar, respecto de estar fuera de su casa; y me suplicó que pues la cantidad que él debia era muy poca, mandase dar mi carta para que dando la dicha fianza en cantidad de lo que esto fuese, le soltásedes de la cárcel y prision donde estaba, para que pudiese venir á esta mi corté y fenescer la dicha cuenta, ó que sobre ello proveyese como la mi merced fuese: lo cual visto por el presidente y contadores de mi contaduría mayor de hacienda, y la razon que dello hay en mis libros de relaciones, y que por ellos parece que de la dicha comision tan solamente tiene por satisfacer y dar cuenta de 79,804 mrs., y que lo demas, á cumplimiento de lo que por ella se le

Throughout 1598 Cervantes appears to have remained in Seville. He had a reminder of a disagreeable incident in his past when, on April 28, he was required to give particulars of the seizures effected by his assistant Nicolas Benito at Teba six

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mandó cobrar, lo está, fue acordado que debíamos mandar dar esta nuestra carta para vos; y os mandamos que dando el dicho Miguel de Cervantes fianzas legas, llanas y abonadas á vuestra satisfaccion, de que dentro de XXX dias vendrá á esta mi corte y dará la dicha cuenta, y satisfará el alcance que por ellas se le hiciere; y no lo haciendo, los dichos sus fiadores pagarán de contado los dichos 79,804 mrs. que parece debe, le solteis de la dicha cárcel y prision donde está, para que pueda hacer lo susodicho: lo cual hareis ansi, no estando preso por otra cosa mas que lo susodicho, que yo lo tengo ansi por bien. . . .' As is noted in the text, this *Real Provision* is dated (from Madrid) December 1, 1597.

[1] *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, pp. 431–2. The sonnet was first printed by Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 447). The heading, which represents Cervantes as calling himself 'author of *Don Quixote*', cannot be earlier than 1605. Herrera died in 1597. Yet Navarrete suggests that the sonnet was written just after Herrera's death. It is not specially characteristic of Cervantes, and the manuscript in which it first occurs is dated 1631, fifteen years after Cervantes's death.

or seven years earlier.[1] But that past, though not without its troubles, must have seemed to him happy when compared with his present circumstances. He had now no means of support, and lived as he could. We have occasional glimpses of the shifts to which he was driven. On September 15 he found a surety for some yards of common cloth, which he undertook to pay for by the end of December[2]; on November 4 he found a surety for two *quintales* of biscuit, which he undertook to pay for by the end of January 1599.[3] It was manifestly a wretched time with him, but he was not uninterested in what was happening about him. Philip II died on September 13, 1598, and Cervantes did not fail to commemorate in song this event, and some grotesque aspects of public ceremonies connected with it.[4]

Poor as he had always been, he had not been so poor but that he could lend a trifle at times to others, and some of those repaid what they had borrowed. Thus, on February 10, 1599, he signed a receipt for ninety *ducados* due to him from Juan de Cervantes, possibly his cousin, son of his uncle, Andrés de Cervantes.[1] In this same month the Treasury remembered his existence, and once more summoned him to Madrid to render his accounts within thirty days. The authorities appear not to have known his exact whereabouts at the moment; he had sunk out of sight, and perhaps never received the official summons: if he did receive it, he disregarded it as before.[2] A little later in 1599 he may have been tempted to go to Madrid, not indeed to satisfy his patient, persistent creditors, but to arrange a domestic matter: the future of his natural daughter, Isabel de Saavedra, who had hitherto lived with her mother, Ana Franca de Rojas.[3]

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 246–9. In this *relacion jurada* Cervantes refers Benito's proceedings at Teba to the year 1592 (*el año pasado de* XCII): see p. 81, nn. 2 and 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 250–1. The surety was the Licentiate Francisco del Aguila (or Avila).

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 252–3. The surety in this case was Geronimo de Vanegas, 'procurador en la real audiençia de la casa de la contratacion de Indias desta ciudad de Seuilla.'

[4] *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, pp. 434–5; Francisco Geronimo Collado, *Descripcion del túmulo y relacion de las exequias que hizo la ciudad de Sevilla en la muerte del rey Don Felipe Segundo* (Sevilla, 1869), pp. 217–20. See also Francisco Rodríguez Marín (El Br. Francisco de Osuna), *Chilindrinas: cuentos, artículos y otras bagatelas* (Sevilla, 1906), pp. 213–24.

After her rupture with Cervantes, Ana Franca de Rojas had married one Alonso Rodriguez, to whom she bore a daughter (likewise named Ana Franca). Both the mother and Rodriguez died at some date previous to August 9, 1599, when Bartolomé de Torres was appointed *curador ad litem* to the two girls.[1] Hitherto Isabel de Saavedra had necessarily passed as the daughter of Alonso Rodriguez. It was impossible for her to drop that character at once, but measures were contrived to bring her nearer her real father. On August 11 she was taken into the service of Magdalena de Cervantes, who agreed to lodge and feed her, to teach her housework and sewing, and to pay her twenty *ducados* for the two years of her engagement.[2] Naturally nothing in the deed of contract indicates that the new maid was the niece of her employer.[1] There was no reason for—there were obvious reasons against—drawing attention to the left-handed relationship between them. The document is, in fact, an adroit legal form drawn up in the interest of Cervantes, who was thus enabled to place his daughter under trustworthy supervision without awakening undue curiosity as to her antecedents. Ostensibly engaged as a servant, Isabel de Saavedra took up her residence with her aunt Magdalena in Madrid, where her other aunt Andrea was also living at this time.[2]

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 254.

[2] So it appears from a passage in Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 440: '. . . asi como se deduce que ya no estaba preso alli [en Sevilla] en febrero de 1599, y que aun ignoraba su paradero el tribunal de contaduría mayor, pues en este mes, segun los apuntes ó anotaciones de un libro manual de cargos y resultas que corria desde 1597, y existe en su archivo, se proveyó contra Cervantes auto de llamamiento con término de treinta dias; pudiendo inferirse que por no haber llegado á notificársele no verificó su comparencia. . . .'

[3] The documents quoted in the following notes give the name as Ana Franca de Rojas. Sr. Cotarelo y Mori holds (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 178) that *Franca* is an abbreviation of Francisca.

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 131–4. 'En la villa [de] Madrid, a nueve dias del mes de Agosto de mill e quinientos e noventa e nueve años, ante el señor licenciado Don Francisco Arias Maldonado, del consejo de su magestad, alcalde de su casa y corte, e por ante mi, Martin de Urraca, escribano . . . pareció Isabel de Saavedra por si y Ana Franca, su hermana, hijas que quedaron de Alonso Rodriguez e Ana Franca, su muger, difuntos, e dixo que por quanto ella y la dicha su hermana son mayores de doce años e menores de veynte y cinco, y tienen nezesidad de que se les cobren sus bienes y hazienda de las personas en quien quedaron por muerte de los dichos sus padres, e ponerse a soldada, e seguir sus pleitos, e poner algunas demandas, e por ser ellas menores no lo pueden hazer por sus personas, por tanto que nombraba y nombró por su curador *ad litem* a Bartolomé de Torres, procurador del número de esta corte, que presente estaba, pidió al dicho señor alcalde lo mande lo acete e jurar. E por el dicho señor alcalde visto mandó lo acete e haga el juramento e dé la fianza que en tal caso es obligado. E yo el dicho escribano rescebi juramento en forma de derecho del dicho Bartolomé de Torres. . . .'

'E visto por el dicho señor alcalde el juramento, acetacion e fianza dada por el dicho Bartolome de Torres, dixo que le discernia e discernió la dicha curaduria *ad litem* de las personas de las dichas menores. . . .'

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 135-7. 'En la villa de Madrid, a onze dias del mes de Agosto de mill e quinientos e noventa e nueve años . . . paresció presente Bartolomé de Torres, procurador del número de esta corte, en nombre e como curador *ad litem* que es de Isabel de Saabedra, hija de Alonso Rodriguez e Ana Franca, su muger, difuntos, e por virt[u]d de la curaduria que de la dicha menor le fué discernida

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. . . dixo que ponia e puso a servicio a la dicha Isabel de Saabedra, su menor, con doña Magdalena de Sotomayor, hija del licenciado Cervantes de Saavedra, su padre, difunto, que está presente, por tiempo de dos años cumplidos primeros siguientes, . . . e por veynte ducados que se le han de dar en todo el dicho tiempo, durante el qual la dicha menor servirá á la dicha doña Magdalena de todo lo que le mandare dentro de su casa e la acompañará e servirá bien e fielmente, y la dicha doña Magdalena le ha de enseñar a hazer labor y a coser, e darla de comer e beber, e cama e camisa labada, e hazella buen tratamiento. . . .'

As to the future of Isabel de Saavedra's half-sister, Ana Franca—who was evidently born before August 9, 1587—we only know at present that she married Alejandro Gasi de Castro, that she was alive on June 4, 1631 (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 210), and that she appears to have died before September 19, 1652.

[1] Unless, perhaps, Magdalena hints at some obscure relationship by adding—contrary to her usual practice—Saavedra to her father's name.

[2] This follows from two documents, both dated Madrid, September 28, 1599 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 255–62). These documents show that Andrea had recently been living in a house looking on to the Calle de la Comadre de Granada; they also show that she had another lawsuit on hand—this time against her dead landlady's mother.

It may be convenient at this point to refer to other documents

Possibly Cervantes left his sisters to make these discreet arrangements. At any rate there is no

which go to prove that Andrea was certainly living in Madrid as far back as December 8, 1596, and perhaps was there sixteen months earlier. These documents also go to prove that Costanza de Figueroa, Andrea's daughter, had inherited something of her mother's pugnacity. They likewise testify to the fact that there had been a love-affair between Costanza and the future Conde de Plasencia—Pedro de Lanuza y Perellós, brother of the well-known Juan de Lanuza who had been executed in 1591 for his share in the Aragonese rising that year.

Concerning this love-affair there are three documents (Pérez Pastor, vol. I, pp. 108–22), the first of which is dated Madrid, December 3, 1596, while the two others are dated Madrid, December 8, 1596. The disclosures are curious. The first document refers to a previous deed executed at Madrid on July 25, 1595, in which Lanuza had undertaken to pay Costanza 1,400 *ducados*, and stated the nature of his obligations to her (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 110). At the time this deed was drawn up in 1595 Lanuza was a comparatively poor man, as his estates had been confiscated after the Aragonese rising. Soon afterwards the cloud lifted, and on February 14, 1596, Philip II bestowed on him the *encomienda de Mora*, to which was attached an income of 324,517 *maravedis* (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 277). Lanuza was evidently making his way, and hoped (very reasonably, as it proved) to secure the restoration of his estate. In the position to which he aspired any connexion with a member of the Cervantes family could only prove embarrassing. He accordingly took steps to shake off Costanza. In the first document (December 3, 1597) Lanuza guarantees Costanza 200 *ducados* yearly for seven years, the amount to be secured on his *encomienda*, and to be payable in two instalments (at Midsummer and Christmas), the first instalment to fall due at Christmas 1596. As to what his obligations to Costanza were, he avoids going into details by referring to the deed of July 25, 1595 (not known to us). In case his estate is restored to him, he undertakes, on entering into possession of it, to pay Costanza the 1,400 *ducados*, or such portion of that sum as may still be owing to her. Five days later (December 8) Lanuza signed a deed providing that, in case of his death, Costanza should be entitled to recover the 1,400 *ducados* from his estate in a single lump sum, instead of receiving it in half-yearly instalments spread over seven years. This appears to have satisfied Costanza. On the same day (December 8) she signed a deed accepting Lanuza's terms, and renouncing every sort of claim against his estate and person, specifically including the claim that he should marry her: '. . . y ansi mismo la dicha doña Constanza de evidence that he went to Madrid for the purpose. There is no trace of him till May 2, 1600, when he appeared as a witness at Seville to support a petition presented by Agustin de Cetina, a paymaster of the forces, with whom he had had official dealings when a commissary.[1] Just two months later Cervantes's brother Rodrigo was killed at the battle of Nieuport,[2] when Philip II's nephew, the Archduke

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Figueroa dió por libre al dicho señor don Pedro de Lanuza de todo y qualquier derecho que contra el tenga aunque fuese y ser pueda pretension de casamiento y derecho contra su hacienda por cualquier causa, derecho y pretension que contra el dicho don Pedro de Lanuza y sus bienes le compete y puede competer, que de todo se apartó y excluyó para que no le quede derecho alguno en ninguna forma, excepto la cobranza de los dichos mill y quatrocientos ducados como de suso va hecha mincion, y si otra cosa pidiere sobre ello no ha de ser oida en juicio ni fuera del . . .' (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 117). Sr. Cotarelo presumes (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 168) that reasons of decorum, or of respect for the lady, caused Lanuza to omit defining his obligations to Costanza when the deed of December 3, 1596, was drawn up: such reasons would have been equally valid on July 25, 1595. So far as can be gathered, Lanuza would seem to have promised marriage to Costanza when he was poor. When he was better off, and his prospects improved, he determined to break with her. He now had some money: she had none, and consented to be bought off.

Andrea de Cervantes signed the deed of renunciation on December 8, 1596 (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 119). Costanza lived with her mother, and hence it is highly probable that Andrea was in Madrid when the missing document of July 25, 1595, was drawn up.

[1] Cetina's *instancia* was presented to the Seville court on March 18, 1600. Cervantes gave his evidence immediately after Luis de Castro on May 2: see (under the heading of *Curiosidades*) *El Ateneo* (Sevilla, Martes, 1.º de Diciembre de 1874), p. 11. Cetina's name occurs frequently in connexion with Cervantes's accounts between 1587 and 1594 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, *passim*).

[2] In two separate documents (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 290–1, and p. 287), both dated Madrid, October 11, 1610, Cervantes and his sister Magdalena give the date of Rodrigo's death as 1601. Cervantes, however, throws light on the matter by specifying the occasion:

Albert, was routed by Maurice of Nassau; but it was not till long afterwards that the news of Rodrigo's death reached his family.[1] His surviving relatives tried to recover his arrears of pay, but with only moderate success.[2] However, if the Spanish Exchequer was slow in discharging its debts, it was zealous in following up its debtors. On September 14, 1601, the Treasury auditors once more endeavoured to extract from Cervantes the 79,804 *maravedis* which they claimed from him.[3]

'... toda la parte que me toca de la herencia de los bienes y sueldo del alferez Rodrigo de Çerbantes, mi hermano, que le mataron en servicio de Su Magestad en la jornada de las Dunas en el año pasado de seyscientos y uno en los Estados de Flandes . . . .' Las Dunas is Nieuport: the battle there took place on July 2, 1600. The correct date is given by Pérez Pastor (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 409); elsewhere in the same volume, by a slip of the pen or owing to a mere misprint, the date is given as '2 de Junio de 1600' (p. 431). For an account of the battle, in which the English under Sir Francis Vere took part, see John Lothrop Motley, *History of the United Netherlands* (London, 1904), vol. IV, pp. 28–50, and L. Klingenstein, *The Great Infanta Isabel, Sovereign of the Netherlands* (London, 1910), pp. 107–9.

It will be observed that, after some thirty years of service, Rodrigo was still an ensign. At the time of his death he was serving in Sebastian de Otaula's company of infantry, which formed part of Luis del Villar's *tercio*.

[1] It is possible that his family did not hear of Rodrigo's death much before August 6, 1605; see the document dated November 7, 1605, when his sisters took the first step towards recovering his arrears of pay (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 267–9). Both were apt to act promptly in such matters.

[2] Instalments were paid at long intervals to Rodrigo's heirs: some of these instalments were paid on December 13, 1613, on September 27, 1640, on August 27, 1649, on September 4, 1651, and on November 26, 1654 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 410 n.).

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 264–5: '. . . La qual dicha quenta no está tomada hasta agora, y conforme a la que se tiene con él en los dichos libros parece réstale deuiendo 79,804 [maravedis].'

They might as well have asked him for the moon. As we have seen, he had not the means to buy himself food and clothes. He was, of course, unable to meet the Treasury's demand, and it seems likely that he was imprisoned again in 1602,[1] to which year is assigned the publication of his sonnet in Lope de Vega's maledictory poem, *La Dragontea.*[1]

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[1] It is not absolutely established that, after his imprisonment in Seville in 1597, Cervantes was imprisoned there again at some time previous to January 24, 1603; but it is difficult to avoid drawing this conclusion from the following documents, copies of which were supplied by Tomas Gonzalez to Navarrete, who quotes (*Vida*, p. 439) a brief passage. The full text is given by Sr. Máinez (*Cervantes y su época*, pp. 513–14) in a modernized form:

'A Miguel de Cervantes se dió comisión de S. M.^{d}, fecha en 13 de Agosto de 594, para que cobrase las fincas de ciertos partidos del Reino . . . y para podérsele recibir su cuenta, es necesario que los contadores de relaciones den razón si el dicho Cervantes ha dado cuenta de la dicha comisión, y si en ella se hizo cargo de los dichos maravedís y tiene satisfecho y pagado el cargo de ella, ó lo que en ello hay. [Valladolid á 14 de Enero de 1603.]'

Upon this the following detailed information was supplied ten days later:

'Por los libros de relaciones de S. M.^{d} parece que dicho Miguel de Cervantes tuvo comisión para cobrar dos cuentos quinientos cincuenta y siete mil veintinueve maravedís de ciertos partidos y rentas del Reino, en que entran los treinta y cuatro mil maravedís que había de finca en las alcabalas y tercias de Baza, en el tercio primero de 594, de los cuales cobró tan solamente 27,904 maravedís, por tantos que pareció haber de finca en el dicho tercio primero. Y por cuenta de los dichos dos cuentos quinientos cincuenta y siete mil veintinueve maravedís entregó en las arcas dos cuentos cuatrocientos treinta y seis mil ciento cincuenta y cuatro maravedís, y no dice por cuenta de qué partidas son, y más se le hicieron buenos, por no cobrados del dicho receptor de Baza y de otro, treinta y un mil setenta y un maravedís, que todo monta dos cuentos cuatrocientos setenta y siete mil doscientos veinticinco maravedís, de los cuales no ha dado cuenta en los dichos libros; y para que la viniese á dar se han dado cartas para que el Sr. Bernabé de Pedroso le soltase de la cárcel donde estaba en Sevilla, dando fianzas de venir á darlas dentro de cierto término, y hasta ahora no ha venido, ni hay razón de las diligencias que se han hecho. Fecho en Valladolid á 24 de Enero de 1603.—Domingo Ipenarrieta.'

VIII

Though it seems probable that Cervantes was imprisoned at Seville in 1602, the fact is not absolutely established. If he really was in Seville jail at this time, we cannot tell whether he did, or did not, find the securities required of him before he was released, nor do we know why the instructions concerning his release were addressed to Bernabé de Pedroso.[2] What is certain is that Cervantes did

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Sr. Máinez argues (*Cervantes y su época*, p. 514) that Cervantes had already paid into the Treasury part of the sum which the accountants claimed. In support of his view Sr. Máinez refers to the *Diligencias de ejecucion en Baza* (Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 427–31). Undoubtedly the accounts are confused, and no doubt the auditors made mistakes now and then. If their figures were wrong, it is all the more strange that Cervantes did not go to Madrid (or Valladolid) and expose the error. But this is precisely what he refused to do. The broad facts of the case are simple. The money entrusted to Freire de Lima was recovered by January 21, 1597 (see p. 97). But after this, as may be gathered from the *Real Provision* of December 1, 1597, there was still a balance against Cervantes (see p. 100, n. 1). He admitted the debt, though he pleaded that the amount was very small ('la cantidad que él debia era muy poca'). He never alleged that he was being asked for the money twice over, and we need not be more papal than the Pope.

[1] The sonnet prefatory to *La Dragontea* is reprinted in *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863-4), vol. VIII, p. 429. It is often said to have appeared first in an edition of *La Dragontea*, published at Madrid in 1598. No copy of this Madrid edition is known to exist. An edition of *La Dragontea* published at Valencia in 1598 does not contain Cervantes's sonnet, which, however, appears in an edition dated 1602. See Hugo Albert Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega* (Glasgow, 1904), p. 140.

[2] The normal routine would have been to instruct one of the judges at Seville to release Cervantes conditionally: this course was followed when Cervantes was imprisoned at Seville in 1597 (see p. 100, n. 1),

not pay the sum claimed by the Treasury, and that the Treasury officials at Valladolid, the new capital,[1] were ignorant of his whereabouts in January 1603.[2] The truth is that after the summer of 1600 Cervantes disappears from sight for a long while. We hear nothing positive of him, or of any member of his family, till February 8, 1603, when his sister Andrea signed—apparently at Valladolid—a receipt for 788 *reales*, the price of underclothing which she had made for the fifth Marqués de Villafranca and his wife.[3] If, as has been thought, the invoice accompanying Andrea's receipt is in Cervantes's handwriting, this might be taken as evidence that he was at Valladolid in February 1603; but those who have seen these documents differ in opinion,[4] and, at the

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and it is not easy to guess why it should not be adopted again in 1602. As Sr. Cotarelo y Mori points out (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 187), the information gathered by Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 443) concerning Pedroso does not indicate that he held any judicial office. Yet Ipenarrieta's statement (p. 109, n. 1) is explicit. Moreover, Pedroso seems to have been at Seville in 1602-3, and possibly he had special powers.

[1] Philip III removed the court from Madrid to Valladolid in 1601: see Luis Cabrera de Cordoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la Córte de España, desde 1599 hasta 1614* (Madrid, 1857), pp. 93, 95.

[2] This seems to follow from Ipenarrieta's letter of January 24, 1603: see p. 109, n. 1.

[3] There are three documents referring to stuffs bought, and to things made, by Andrea for Villafranca. They are indicated by Navarrete (*Vida*, pp. 93–4, 252, and 455), and are printed by Sr. Máinez (*Cervantes y su época*, pp. 388–9). The word 'Valladolid' does not appear in any of them; but Vazquez, who sent them to Navarrete, pointed out that Villafranca arrived at Valladolid from Algiers in January 1603 (*Ibid.*, p. 389 n.). Hence there is scarcely any doubt as to the place.

[4] Vazquez, in his letter to Navarrete, gives it as his opinion that the receipt and invoice are both in Cervantes's handwriting, and that

best, the opinions of experts on handwriting do not inspire complete confidence. We know that Cervantes's mother-in-law died shortly before July 21, 1604, for on this date his wife was at Esquivias, carrying out the provisions of her mother's will,[1] an instrument drawn markedly in Doña Catalina's favour, and with a distinct bias against Doña Catalina's husband. We cannot tell whether Cervantes went to Esquivias with his wife or not; we cannot tell whether he (or she) started for Esquivias from Valladolid; but it seems tolerably certain that Cervantes was living at Valladolid in the summer of 1604.[2] No doubt he was then arranging to obtain a *Privilegio* for a work which, though still unpublished, was already the subject of gossip in literary

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even Andrea's signature attached to the receipt was written by Cervantes (*Ibid.*, p. 389 n.). Navarrete (*Vida*, p. 94) seems to have agreed with this view; on the other hand, Sr. Máinez (*Cervantes y su época*, pp. 388–9 n.) holds that only the invoice was written by Cervantes.

[1] The fact is established by a phrase which occurs in a deed of gift executed by Doña Catalina on January 31, 1612 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 170):—'. . . ante la justicia del dicho lugar [de Esquivias] e por ante Juan Hidalgo, escribano de su magestad e del numero del ayuntamiento del, en veynte e un dias del mes de Jullio del año pasado de mill y seiscientos e quatro, se hizo particion e division de los bienes e hazienda que quedaron por fin y muerte de la dicha Catalina de Palacios, mi madre. . . .'

[2] This is inferred from a statement made by Cervantes's niece Costanza at Valladolid on June 30, 1605 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 515): '. . . dixo que de un año que há que está esta confesante en esta corte . . .' As Costanza lived with her uncle, this would seem to imply that he came to Valladolid in June 1604; but Costanza also lived with her mother, and, assuming that both arrived in Valladolid together, her statement (if correct) seems to throw some doubt on the authenticity of the Villafranca receipt and invoice.

circles. This book was *Don Quixote.* It and its author are mentioned slightingly by Lope de Vega in a private letter written at Toledo on August 14, 1604.[1] The official *Privilegio* was granted at Valladolid on September 26. It extended only to Castile, and perhaps this implies that the publisher, Francisco de Robles, did not think highly of its prospects. If so, he was mistaken. The book was a commercial success.[2] When *Don Quixote* was issued in January

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[1] Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera, *Nueva Biografía* [*Obras de Lope de Vega*, vol. I], Madrid, 1890, p. 122: 'De poetas, no digo: buen siglo es este; muchos están en cierne para el año que viene, pero ninguno hay tan malo como Cervantes, ni tan necio que alabe á Don Quijote. . . .'

[2] Sr. Cotarelo y Mori (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 198) repeats the old story of Philip III's seeing a student laughing so heartily over a book that the king observed: 'Aquel estudiante ó está fuera de sí, ó lee la historia de Don Quijote.' Sr. Cotarelo y Mori refers to Baltasar Porreño as his authority. Pellicer gives the tale in the biography which precedes his edition of *Don Quixote* (Madrid, 1797–8), vol. I, p. xcix. Pellicer writes: 'dice el licenciado Baltasar Porreño en los *Dichos y Hechos* de aquel Rey [Felipe III], segun D. Gregorio Mayans,' and he refers to paragraph 56 of Gregorio Mayans's *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* in the *Vida y hechos del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Londres, 1738), vol. I, p. 27. The passage in Mayans reads as follows: 'Aun viviendo Cervantes, consiguiò la glòria de que su Obra tuviesse la acetacion Real. Estava el Rei Don Felipe, Tercero deste nombre, en un balcòn de su Palacio de Madrid, i espaciando la vista observò, que un Estudiante junto al Rio Manzanares leía un Libro, i de quando en quando interrumpía la leccion, i se dava en la frente grandes palmadas, acompañadas de extraordinarios movimientos de placer, i alegria; i dijo el Rei. *Aquel Estudiante, o està fuera de sì, o lee la Historia de Don Quijote.* I luego se supo que la leía; porque los Palaciegos suelen interessarse mucho en ganar las albricias de los aciertos de sus Amos en lo que poco importa.'

It will be observed that Mayans does not profess to quote from Porreño, nor is the anecdote to be found in Baltasar Porreño's *Dichos y hechos del Señor Rey D. Phelipe III. el Bueno* (Madrid, [1628?]).

1605, a Lisbon bookseller named Jorge Rodriguez took the opening afforded by Robles's negligence, and set about preparing a reprint for the Portuguese market. Evidently some rumour of this move reached Robles, who met it by procuring in Cervantes's name a supplementary *Privilegio* for Aragon and Portugal on February 9, 1605. This did not check Rodriguez, who replied, on February 26, by obtaining for his pirated edition an *Aprobacion* from Frey Antonio Freyre, an Augustinian acting on behalf of the Inquisition. Another reprint of *Don Quixote* for circulation in Portugal was undertaken by a rival Lisbon publisher, Pedro Crasbeeck, who secured a replica of Frey Antonio Freyre's *Aprobacion* on March 27. It is possible that Crasbeeck's enterprise was suggested to him by Robles,[1] who had a second edition of *Don Quixote* in hand at Madrid, and who endeavoured to strengthen his position still further by enlisting the sympathies of the author. At Valladolid, on April 12, 1605, Cervantes signed a document in which, after stating that he had sold his *Privilegio* to Robles, he authorized Robles and his representatives at Lisbon to take action against infringers of the copyright in Portugal, or to come to terms with them.[2] The alternative is significant.

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[1] This view is advanced by Sr. Cotarelo (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 195).

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 141-4: 'Sepan quantos esta carta de poder vieren, como yo, Miguel de Çervantes Saauedra, residente en esta corte, digo: que por quanto yo compuse un libro yntitulado El yngenioso hidalgo don quijote de la mancha,

It would seem that Robles wished to secure his share of profits on the pirated editions. As Cervantes had parted with his rights, he had nothing to

y por el rey . . . me está dado y concedido su previlegio y facultad, despachado en toda forma, para que yo o quien mi poder hobiere le pueda ympremir y vender en estos Reynos de Castilla y en el de la Corona de Portugal por tiempo de diez años con proybicion y penas que ninguna persona sin mi poder y licencia le pueda ympremir ni vender segun del dicho previlegio consta y paresze, a que me refiero. = Y a mi noticia ha venido que algunas personas en el dicho Reyno de Portugal han ympresso o quieren ympremir el dicho libro sin tener, como no tienen, para ello poder ni licencia mia contraviniendo el dicho previlegio y facultad Real. Por tanto, en la via e forma que mexor de derecho lugar haya otorgo y conozco por esta presente carta que doy y otorgo todo mi poder cumplido, libre, llenero y bastante, segun le tengo y de derecho en tal caso se requiere y mas puede y debe valer . . . á Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey nuestro señor, y al licenciado Diego de Alfaya, capellan de su magestad, y a Francisco de Mar, residentes en la çibdad de Lisboa, y a cada uno y qualquier dellos por si e *in solidum*, especialmente para que por mi y en mi nombre y como yo, representando mi persona se puedan querellar y acusar criminalmente o en la mejor via e forma que de derecho lugar haya de las persona o personas que sin el dicho mi poder han ympresso o ymprimieren el dicho libro en qualesquier partes destos Reynos de Castilla y en el de la Corona de Portugal, pidiendo sean condemnados y pugnidos en las penas en que han incurrido e incurrieren conforme al dicho real privilegio y a las leyes de los Reynos y señorios de su magestad para donde me está concedida la impresion y venta del dicho libro, y en razon dello hagan en el dicho mi nombre qualesquier pedimentos, querellas, requerimientos, citaziones, protestaziones, y presentaziones de testigos, scripturas y probanzas, y pidan embargos, entregas, prisiones, ventas y reventas de bienes, y tomen posesiones dellos y hagan juramentos y todos los demas autos y diligencias que judicial y extrajudicialmente convengan y sean necesarias y las que yo, en virtud del dicho privilegio y facultad Real, podria hazer presente siendo, y asimismo hagan qualesquier conciertos en razon de la dicha impression y venta del dicho libro, dando a las persona o personas con quien se conzertaren los poderes y licencias que les paresciere y bien visto fuere para que las referidas personas ó quien su poder hobiere puedan imprimir e vender el dicho libro en los dichos Reynos de la Corona de Castilla y Portugal por el tiempo que yo lo puedo hazer

gain or to lose personally, and he had no power to intervene effectively; but it was to his interest to stand well with his publisher, and his statement of April 12, 1605, placed on public record his approval of Robles's proceedings.

IX

We now come to an awkward incident in Cervantes's career, an incident which has attained undue importance owing to the action of biographers who, under the belief that they were protecting Cervantes's reputation, entered into a conspiracy of silence with regard to it. This might make it necessary to enlarge upon the subject, were it not that the matter is, in truth, a very simple one. Briefly, the facts are these.[1]

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conforme al dicho previlegio o por el que se conzertaren, rescibiendo y cobrando e resciban y cobren en el dicho mi nombre la cantidad de maravedis y cosas, que por razon de la licencia y poder para la dicha impression y venta del dicho libro se conzertare se me hayan de dar, y asimismo hagan qualesquier conciertos con los que le han impresso hasta ahora y impremieren de aqui adelante otorgando sobre todo las scripturas, conciertos y poderes que bien visto les fuere y haziendo lo que yo como señor del dicho previlegio y en virtud del puedo hazer, y con lo que de todo prozediere se haga la orden y voluntad del dicho Francisco de Robles, a quien pertenesce el dicho privilegio y cuyo verdadero mercader es, conforme a una scriptura de conçierto entre él y mi fecha, de la exsibicion y demostracion de la qual le relievo. . . .'

[1] The facts may be gathered from the *Averiguaciones hechas por mandado del señor Alcalde Cristoval de Villarroel sobre las heridas que se dieron á don Gaspar de Ezpeleta, caballero del habito de Santiago.* This document was first printed in its entirety by Sr. Máinez in 1886. It is reproduced by him in *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 390–408, and by Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 455–537. In subsequent notes dealing with the case, references will be given to both works,

In the summer of 1605 Cervantes and his family occupied an apartment on the first floor of a new house in the Calle del Rastro at Valladolid.[1] At about eleven o'clock on the night of Monday, June 27, when Cervantes was in bed, the inmates of the house were roused by cries for help. Luis and Esteban de Garibay,[2] fellow-lodgers of Cervantes's, hurried down to see what the matter was, and found that the cries came from a certain Gaspar de Ezpeleta, who was at the door with his rapier drawn, and bleeding from wounds.[3] Luis de Garibay called Cervantes, who

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but the passages quoted will be from the text as printed by Pérez Pastor.

[1] The houses in the Calle del Rastro were still building on August 4, 1604: see Narciso Alonso A. Cortés, *Noticias de una corte literaria* (Madrid-Valladolid, 1906), pp. 81–5.

[2] They were the sons of the chronicler Esteban de Garibay Zamalloa and his second wife Luisa de Montoya. Luis de Garibay was born on December 8, 1581; he died on March 21, 1617. Esteban de Garibay was born on September 11, 1590; he died on October 25, 1611 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 480 n. and 486 n.).

[3] See the evidence of Esteban de Garibay (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 468, and Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 393 *a*): '. . . dixo que estando este testigo en su casa esta noche [27 de junio] a hora de las diez o las once, poco mas o menos, oyo vozes diciendo: ¡ cuchilladas, cuchilladas !, e no sabe quien lo dixo, y este testigo se asomó a la ventana y vio un hombre que estaba a la puerta y venía diciendo a vozes que le socorriesen, que venía herido, y este testigo baxó abaxo con una vela e vio al dicho hombre herido, el qual con la luz que tenía subio por las escaleras arriba, y traya su espada desenvainada. . . .' On June 29 Esteban de Garibay deposed that his brother Luis went downstairs with him: '. . . a las vozes, como tiene declarado, baxó este testigo y su hermano don Luis; el qual don Gaspar estaba herido y con mucha sangre . . .' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 492; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 397 *b*).

helped to carry the wounded man upstairs,[1] where Luisa de Montoya, mother of the Garibays, had a bed made for him on the floor of her room.[2] A priest,[3] a barber-surgeon,[4] and an *alguacil*[5] were summoned. The priest heard Ezpeleta's confession; the barber-surgeon attended to the patient's wounds—a deep stab in the right thigh, and another low down in the left part of the abdominal wall, damaging the peritoneum, through which part of the omentum protruded. A Navarrese by birth, a Knight of the Order of Santiago by station, Ezpeleta was known in Valladolid as a rather needy rake, who lived on intimate terms with the Marqués de Falces, Captain of the Royal Archers.[1] Informed of what had

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[1] Cervantes testifies as follows (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 462; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 391 *b*): '. . . estando este testigo acostado en la cama esta noche a hora de las once, poco mas o menos, oyo ruido e grandes vozes en la calle, que le llamaba don Luis de Garibay, y este testigo se levantó y el dicho don Luis dixo a este testigo que le ayudase a subir un hombre, el qual este testigo vio y era el que tiene declarado. . . .'

[2] Luisa de Montoya deposes (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 462; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 391 *b*): 'esta testigo le mandó hacer una cama donde le echaron.' The *escribano*, Fernando de Velasco, in his preliminary statement, describing the arrival of the Alcalde, says (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 455-6; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 390 *b*-1 *a*): 'subió a unos aposentos altos della [la dicha casa nueva del Rastro] en el quarto donde vive doña Luisa de Montoya, viuda, y en la sala halló a un hombre echado en una cama fecha en el suelo de la dicha sala. . . .'

[3] The priest's name was Gonzalo Bravo de Sotomayor: just before he was sent for, his nephew had seen Ezpeleta and his opponent fighting in the distance (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 467-8; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 392 *b*-3 *a*).

[4] The barber-surgeon was Sebastian Macias, 'ciruxano y barbero de las guardas viejas e de a caballo de Su Magestad': for his deposition see Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 456, and Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 391 *a*. Cervantes speaks of two barbers being present: 'y luego un barbero y desde a poco otro' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 462; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 391 *b*). But this statement does not appear to be confirmed by other witnesses.

[5] The *alguacil* was Francisco Vicente. According to Cervantes's daughter, he was called in by her cousin Costanza (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 521; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 404 *b*): '. . . e doña Costanza, prima de esta confesante, dixo a dos hombres que pasaban por alli: ¿ no llamarán a la justicia, que han muerto aqui un cavallero ?; el qual subio y era el alguacil Francisco Vicente, y despues vino el señor Alcalde, como tiene dicho.'

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[1] Gaspar de Ezpeleta was the son of Matias de Ezpeleta and Catalina del Rio, both natives of Pamplona. He was born about 1568, and was admitted to the Order of Santiago in 1598. A misadventure which befell him in a recent joust at Valladolid was commemorated by Gongora in two uncomplimentary *décimas*:

Cantemos á la gineta
Y lloremos á la brida
La vergonzosa caida
De don Gaspar de Ezpeleta.
¡Oh, si yo fuera poeta
Que gastara de papel
Y qué nota hiciera de el!
Dijera á lo menos yo
Que el majadero cayo
Porque cayesen en el.
Dijera del caballero,
Visto su caudal y traza,
Que ha entrado poco en la plaza
Y menos su despensero;
Que si cayera en Enero
Quedara con santo honrado,
Aunque el Apóstol sagrado,
Cuando Dios le hizo fiel,
Cayo de alumbrado, y el
Cayo de desalumbrado.

The allusion in the closing lines is to the conversion of St. Paul, a feast celebrated on January 25. The verses are quoted by Juan Antonio Pellicer on p. cxvii of the biography prefixed to the first occurred, Cristobal de Villarroel, one of the four Alcaldes of Valladolid, arrived to take Ezpeleta's deposition. Ezpeleta's story was that, after supping with the Marqués de Falces,[1] he was strolling near the Calle del Rastro when he was accosted by a man unknown to him: words passed, followed by a fight in which Ezpeleta received his wounds. The deponent was so weak that the Alcalde did not press him further at the moment.[2] His page gave a likely clue by stating that his master had been carrying on a notorious intrigue with a married woman in Valladolid, and by hinting pointedly that Ezpeleta's wounds had been inflicted by her husband or some one else related to her.[3] Though in possession

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volume of his edition of *Don Quixote* (Madrid, 1797–8). They will not be found in M. Foulché-Delbosc's edition of Góngora, which reproduces the Chacon manuscript: from this manuscript all verses of a personal or offensive character are omitted.

[1] The Marqués de Falces came with the Alcalde: see the statement with which the *escribano*, Fernando de Velasco, opens the record of the inquiry (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 455–6; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 390 *b*–1 *a*).

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 457–61; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 391 *b*.

[3] The page's name was Francisco Camporredondo. The crucial passages of his evidence are as follows (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 466–7; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 392 *a*, *b*): '. . . dixo que el dicho don Gaspar ha tratado y trata amores con una muger casada, que los nombres y casa ha declarado al dicho señor Alcalde, e que habiendo venido a noticia del dicho su marido, tiene entendido que han habido y tenido dares y tomares e pesadumbres, porque el dicho don Gaspar entraba y salia de ordinario en su casa, e muchas noches se quedaba en la dicha casa, e que lo que harian no lo sabe, mas de que los amores de ambos eran muy conocidos y sabidos en todos los criados . . . dixo que este testigo cree que el dicho don Gaspar se rezelaba y andaba rezeloso de cierta persona que pasa

of the woman's name and address, Villarroel did not follow up this scent. On the evening of June 28 he again visited Ezpeleta, who merely expanded his former statement, adding nothing of importance except that his opponent had fought fairly.[1] Though Ezpeleta was sinking fast, those about him urged him to disclose the name of his antagonist; he persisted in saying that he did not know the man, begged his tormentors to leave him in peace,[2] and died at six o'clock next morning (June 29).[3] Mean-

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en casa de la dicha muger casada, y el nombre de la dicha persona declaró al dicho señor Alcalde, y aunque se trataban como amigos, habia entre ellos algunos zelos . . . no sabe ni entiende que este daño le pueda venir de otra parte sino es de la casa de la dicha muger, que tiene declarado al señor Alcalde, de los deudos de ella. . . .' Andrés Ramon, another servant of Ezpeleta's, was less communicative, but he spoke to his master's constantly visiting a house near the Puerta de Santisteban, and to his receiving and sending messages through one of the men employed there (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 469–70; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, 393 *b*).

[1] Villarroel's second examination of Ezpeleta took place at seven in the evening (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 475–7; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 394 *b*–5 *a*): '. . . dixo que no ha reñido con nadie ni tiene sospecha sobre ninguna persona mas de lo que tiene declarado, e que la dicha persona que riñó con él se acuchilló como hombre honrado, y que él fue el primero que metio mano a la espada contra él. . . .'

[2] This is spoken to by Luisa de Montoya and by Magdalena de Cervantes. The first-named says: 'en el articulo mortis le dixeron que descargase su conciencia y mirase que se moria; el qual dixo que no le cansasen, que no tenía mas que declarar ni decir de lo que tenía dicho, y con esto el susodicho espiró.' Magdalena confirms this: 'le preguntaron cerca de su herida y quien le habia herido, y que descargase su conciencia; el qual dixo que ni lo sabía, ni queria saber, y que le dexasen, y con esto murio' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 481; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 396 *a*).

[3] The barber-surgeon Macias states that he was present at the death of Ezpeleta, 'el cual murio de las heridas que tenía hoy dia [29 de

while, Villarroel had received unfavourable reports concerning the conduct of certain women living in the house where Ezpeleta lay, and he seems to have suspected that they knew more than they chose to admit of the mysterious stranger who, after wounding Ezpeleta, had vanished into the night.[1] On June 29, therefore, he proceeded to question some of the inmates of the house. Several of them knew Ezpeleta by sight; some knew him personally; none could throw light on the circumstances in which he met his death. In the course of examination by the Alcalde, Esteban de Garibay spoke to Ezpeleta's having visited a lodger named Juana Gaitan (widow of the poet Pedro Lainez, and a friend of Cervantes's); he said that visits paid her by the Duque de Pastrana

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Junio] por la mañana a hora de las seis, poco mas o menos, el qual está pasado de esta presente vida' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 482; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 396 *a*).

[1] See the note appended by Fernando de Velasco immediately after Ezpeleta's second deposition (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 477–8; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 395 *a, b*): '. . . siendo informado su merced del dicho señor Alcalde que en las casas nuevas que estan enfrente del Rastro de esta ciudad, e particularmente en la casa donde entró herido el dicho don Gaspar de Ezpeleta, viven algunas mugeres que en sus casas admiten visitas de cavalleros y de otras personas de dia e de noche, adonde asimismo entraba el dicho don Gaspar de Ezpeleta, de que en la vecindad hay grande murmuracion y escandalo; y para averiguar lo susodicho y saber si de la dicha casa salio la persona que hirio al dicho don Gaspar de Ezpeleta, o fue por causa de alguna de las mugeres que viven en ella, y averiguar la libertad con que viven las mugeres que estan en ella y que en esta corte no tienen entretenimiento ninguno, y que por su causa fue las heridas del dicho don Gaspar, su merced del dicho señor Alcalde, por su persona, en presencia de mi el presente escribano, hizo las informaciones y averiguaciones siguientes.'

and the Conde de Concentaina had given rise to gossip; and he mentioned the names of two men who called upon the Cervantes family—Agustin Ragio, a Genoese contractor, and Simon Mendez, a Portuguese who apparently had some connexion with the Admiralty.[1] Magdalena de Cervantes spoke to her brother's receiving visits from Mendez, and stated that Hernando de Toledo, Señor de Higares, had also called on him once or twice.[2] Another lodger named Isabel de Ayala, a pious widow of a censorious turn, gave evidence reflecting unfavourably on Juana Gaitan, on Mariana Ramirez, and more especially on Cervantes's daughter, Isabel de Saavedra. She alleged that the visits of men by day and night to the Cervantes family were a source of scandal, and that Cervantes's daughter was notoriously known as the mistress of Simon Mendez, who had given her a costly present: she further alleged that she had repeatedly rebuked Mendez for his misconduct, though he denied the charge, declaring that his visits were nothing more than friendly calls.[1] Isabel de Ayala's evidence was little better

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[1] The essential passages of Esteban de Garibay's evidence are as follows (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 487-8; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 397 *a*, *b*): 'dixo que . . . en el quarto alto . . . posa doña Juana Gaitan e doña Luisa de Argomedo e doña Maria de Argomedo, y que este testigo vio algunas veces entrar en este quarto al dicho don Gaspar de Ezpeleta de dia entrar a visitarles.

'Preguntado qué otras algunas personas sabe este testigo que entren en el quarto de la dicha doña Juana Gaitan e doña Maria de Argomedo, dixo que han entrado algunas personas que no se acuerda de sus nombres, excepto del duque de Pastrana y conde de Concentaina, e que no sabe los nombres de los demas, mas de que de ello hay nota e murmuracion.

'Preguntado en el quarto de las Cervantas qué visitas de cavalleros hay, dixo que en el dicho quarto entraban Agustin Raxio y Simon Mendez, portugues, e no ha mirado en otras personas.'

In documents dated 1604 Simon Mendez is entitled 'tesorero general de las rentas de los diezmos de la mar de Castilla y de Galicia' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 488 n.).

[2] 'Preguntada qué otras personas han entrado en la dicha casa y aposento a visitar a los que tiene declarado, dixo que don Hernando de Toledo, señor de Higares, ha entrado una o dos veces a visitar a el dicho Miguel de Cervantes, su hermano, e tambien ha entrado Simon Mendez' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 499; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 399 *a*). The witness called immediately before Magdalena de Cervantes, one Isabel de Islallana, a servant of Maria de Argomedo's, testified that she had been pinched and solicited by Ezpeleta just before his fatal fight; that she had seen the Duque de Pastrana and the Conde de Concentaina visiting her employer; that she had noticed that the Señor de Higares visited the

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Cervantes family, and that, on the previous evening, she had observed him speaking to one of the women of the family, who was at the window looking on to the street (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 495–8). In the version printed by Máinez (*Cervantes y su época*, p. 398 *a–b*) Cervantes is represented as being at the window.

[1] Isabel de Ayala, widow of Dr. Espinosa, spoke favourably of the Garibay family: 'que es gente honrada e recogida.' For the rest her evidence is as follows (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 504-7; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 400 *a*-1 *a*): '. . . en este quarto donde el dicho Miguel de Cervantes y su hija, hermanas y sobrina viven, hay algunas conversaciones de gentes, que entran en ella de noche y de dia algunos cavalleros que esta testigo no conoce, mas de que en ello hay escandalo e murmuracion; y especialmente entra un Simon Mendez, portugues, que es publico e notorio que está amancebado con la dicha doña Isabel, hija del dicho Miguel de Cervantes; y esta testigo se lo ha reprendido muchas veces al dicho Simon Mendez, aunque él decia que no entraba sino por buena amistad que tenía en la dicha casa; y sabe esta testigo, por lo haber oido decir publicamente, que dicho Simon Mendez la habia dado un faldellin que le habia costado mas de ducientos ducados; y que en el quarto alto, arriba de la taberna, vive doña Mariana Ramirez, la qual es publico e notorio que está amancebada con don Diego de Miranda, e dicen que se quiere casar con ella, y que sobre esto han estado presos,

than second-hand gossip, but it would appear to have carried weight with the Alcalde Villarroel, who clung to his preconceived notion that Ezpeleta had been done to death by somebody related to one of the women living at the house in the Calle del Rastro. Unluckily Ezpeleta, before dying, had bequeathed a silk gown to Magdalena de Cervantes, who had nursed him assiduously[1]; and, as Magdalena was

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y despues aca todavia se tratan; y que en otro quarto alto . . . vive doña Juana Gaytan e doña Maria de Argomedo y doña Catalina, muger soltera, sobrina de la dicha doña Juana Gaytan, e doña Luisa, también moza soltera, hermana de la dicha doña Juana Gaytan; y estas dichas mugeres admiten muchas visitas, de dia e de noche, de cavalleros, como son el duque de Pastrana e Maqueda, y ha oido decir que el conde de Concentaina y el señor de Higares, que ha oido decir se llama don Fernando de Toledo, y otros muchos cavalleros, que no conoce, pero que el de Higares entraba más veces y mas a menudo en el aposento del dicho Miguel de Cervantes e su muger, hermanas y sobrina e hija. . . .

'Preguntada si esta testigo . . . sabe o ha oido decir por qual de las dichas mugeres fue la dicha pendencia, dixo que esta testigo no lo sabe, mas de haber oido decir que la dicha pendencia fue por lo que se le pregunta, pero no conoce ni sabe por quien fuese, ni tampoco ha oido decir quien fuese el hombre con quien el dicho don Gaspar riñese, ni lo sospecha, porque esta testigo no trata con ninguna de ellas, porque, como dicho tiene, siempre le ha parecido mal y causado escandalo las demasiadas conversaciones y libertades con que viven. . . .'

[1] See Magdalena's evidence (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 498; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 399 *a*): '. . . dixo que no conoce al dicho don Gaspar de Ezpeleta más de desde la noche que entró en casa de doña Luisa de Montoya herido, y entonces le oyó llamar don Gaspar de Ezpeleta, y desde entonces esta testigo estuvo a su cabecera regalandole hasta el punto que murio.

'Preguntada cómo dice no le conocer, pues el dicho don Gaspar en su testamento hace una manda a esta testigo de que le den un vestido de seda de la que ella quisiere por el amor que la tiene, dixo que esta testigo no sabe por qué razon lo dixo, más de que si por haber acudido con caridad a regalarle en la cama, le hizo alguna manda.'

(like Isabel de Ayala) a devout elderly woman who had renounced such vanities as silk, Villarroel seems to have imagined that the gown was really meant for one of the younger women in the house [1]—probably for Magdalena's niece, Isabel de Saavedra, concerning whom Isabel de Ayala had deposed so unfavourably. Though Ezpeleta's landlady gave some suggestive evidence as to his character [2] and conduct, and though Ezpeleta's mistress was found in his lodgings after his death,[1] Villarroel held to his theory. Immediately after hearing Isabel de Ayala's evidence he ordered the arrest of Cervantes, his daughter, his sister Andrea, his niece Costanza, and seven other persons—five of whom lodged in the same house as the Cervantes family[2]: Cervantes's

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[1] His questions to Magdalena, following immediately on the paragraphs just quoted, indicate his suspicions: 'Preguntada, pues esta testigo profesa hábito de beata, y no le quadra el vestido de seda que el dicho don Gaspar le manda, diga y declare si se lo manda para darle a otra persona, puniendolo en cabeza de esta testigo, dixo que esta testigo no sabe ni entiende por qué el dicho don Gaspar le hiciese la dicha manda, porque nunca le trató ni conocio en su casa, ni en otra ninguna, mas de tan solamente quando le vio herido, como tiene dicho.' Villarroel further examined Luisa de Montoya on this point (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 503; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 400 *a*): 'Preguntada por qué causa o razon el dicho don Gaspar mandó un vestido de seda a doña Magdalena de Sotomayor, diciendo que se le manda por el amor que la tiene, pues la dicha manda presupone conoscimiento en casa de la dicha doña Magdalena, y siendo, como es, beata, y que se viste de xerga, presupone tambien que mandarle un vestido de seda era para otra persona e no para ella, dixo que no se halló al testamento, ni sabe la causa, mas de que entiende que por ser pobre se lo mandaria de caridad, porque la tiene por una gran sierva de Dios por la buena vida que hace. . . .'

[2] Ezpeleta's landlady, Juana Ruiz, lived in the Calle de los Manteros; being ill in bed, she volunteered to give evidence, which was taken by commission (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 508–10; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 401 *a*, *b*). She deposed that during the three months Ezpeleta had lodged with her he seldom slept at home ('no durmio en ella quince dias, porque se quedaba a dormir fuera'), and she told a curious story of a visit to her house paid by a veiled woman who went up to Ezpeleta's room during his absence, vowing to be revenged on him. The veiled woman complained of Ezpeleta having taken from her two gold rings (one studded with diamonds, and the other studded with emeralds), and said that her husband had threatened to kill her, because she was unable to produce

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them. She was persuaded to reveal her husband's name—'dixo que su marido se llamaba Galvan y era escribano y vivia junto á San Salvador.' Juana Ruiz went on to say that two monks were subsequently sent by the veiled woman to Ezpeleta to ask him for these rings, and that Ezpeleta handed them over. It would seem, however, that they came into his possession again, for, after he was wounded, the *alguacil* Diego Garcia took charge of two rings which were found on him, and which corresponded to the veiled woman's description of those belonging to her: 'Dos sortixas pequeñas de oro, la una con diamantes pequeños, que es unas memorias que se parten en tres partes, e la otra de tres esmeraldas' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 460; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 391 *a*).

[1] The two *alguaciles*, Francisco Vicente and Diego Garcia, found her there veiled, and accompanied by two maids likewise veiled. She struck the *alguaciles* as being a person of quality. She behaved like one. When the officers asked her her name, and what she was doing there, she told them this was no business of theirs. They reported the matter to Villarroel, who ordered her to be brought before him. She was taken to the Alcalde's private residence, was closeted with him for some time, and, after revealing to him privately her name, she made a public deposition stating that she had gone into the house in the Calle de los Manteros to visit a sick woman there—manifestly Juana Ruiz, to whom the last sacraments had been administered on June 29 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 511; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, 401 *b*–2 *a*). There can be no reasonable doubt that the veiled visitor was Ezpeleta's mistress, wife of Galvan: she may have gone to the house again to try and recover her lost rings.

[2] The prisoners were Miguel de Cervantes, Isabel de Saavedra, Doña Andrea and her daughter Costanza de Ovando, Juana Gaitan, Maria de Argomedo Ayala (widow of Alonso Enriquez), her sister Luisa de Argomedo Ayala, her niece Catalina de Aguilera, and

wife was absent from Valladolid at the moment, and thus escaped being sent to Valladolid jail with her husband and other members of his family.[1]

The prisoners suffered because of the company which their poverty compelled them to keep. The evidence against them was vague and feeble. But, apart from his duty to inquire into the mystery of Ezpeleta's death, Villarroel was responsible for the maintenance of order in Valladolid, and it would be unfair to assume that he had nothing to go upon but Isabel de Ayala's statement. The Calle del Rastro lay in a poor quarter of the city. Dukes and counts were unlikely to visit the neighbourhood for any laudable purpose: the visits of the Duque de Pastrana and the Duque de Maqueda were not denied, and the reputation of these two noblemen was not good.[2] It was possible to test one passage in Isabel

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Mariana Ramirez. Besides these, two men were arrested, Simon Mendez and Diego de Miranda; neither of them lived at the house in the Calle del Rastro.

It will be observed that the name of Magdalena de Cervantes does not appear on the list of prisoners.

[1] Cervantes's wife is not mentioned by Andrea de Cervantes, Magdalena de Cervantes, and Isabel de Saavedra (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 517–19, 498–501, and 520–2; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 403 *a*–4 *b*, 398 *a*–9 *b*, and 404 *a*, *b*); but that she resided at the house in the Calle del Rastro is established by the evidence of Esteban de Garibay, of Maria de Zeballos (a maid in the service of the Cervantes family), of Luisa de Montoya and her maid Catalina de Rebenga, of Isabel de Ayala, and of Cervantes's niece Costanza (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 487, 492, 502, 493, 507, and 514; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 397 *a*, 397 *b*, 399 *b*, 398 *a*, 400 *b*, and 402 *b*).

[2] Isabel de Ayala deposed that the Duque de Maqueda, as well as the Duque de Pastrana, visited Juana Gaitan (Pérez Pastor, *Docu-*

de Ayala's evidence, and this proved to be correct: one of the lodgers at the house in the Calle del Rastro was a widow named Mariana Ramirez, and it was true that, little more than a month before the Ezpeleta incident, she had been accused of misconduct with Diego de Miranda, and that both she and her paramour had been punished.[1] No doubt this created a prejudice against the other inmates of the house. The Ramirez-Miranda case did not, indeed, come before Villarroel personally, but he must have heard of it from his colleague, and probably allowed it to influence him unduly. His action in arresting eleven persons on suspicion of being indirectly concerned in Ezpeleta's death was the rash proceeding of an amateur magistrate; it was high-handed and perhaps illegal, though the discretion given to Alcaldes was extremely wide; it is not, however, incomprehensible, and it might have been effective had his theory as to Ezpeleta's death been correct. As it happened, his theory was wrong. Eight of the female prisoners,[2] as well as Diego de Miranda,[3] were

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mentos cervantinos, vol. II, p. 506; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 400 *b*). Four years later (July 23, 1609) Maqueda was concerned in a brutal midnight attack on the Duque de Sessa at Madrid. Pastrana is mentioned as intervening in this street-brawl: see Luis Cabrera de Cordoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la Córte de España, desde 1599 hasta 1614* (Madrid, 1857), p. 378.

[1] They were reported to the Alcalde, Alonso Muñoz de Otalora, on May 10, 1605. For details see Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 409–11.

[2] These were Cervantes's niece Costanza, his sister Andrea, his daughter Isabel de Saavedra, Catalina de Aguilera, Luisa de Argomedo Ayala, Maria de Argomedo Ayala, Juana Gaitan, and Mariana Ramirez.

[3] Diego de Miranda y Gutierrez de Ayala seems to have been a Knight

examined by Villarroel on June 30 and July 1 in the courthouse attached to Valladolid jail. He failed to extract from them any damaging admissions. On the contrary, Isabel de Ayala's charges were contradicted, or explained away. It was averred that Pastrana had only visited Juana Gaitan twice or thrice, and that his calls had reference to the publication of two works by her deceased husband, with whom he had been acquainted.[1] Evidence was put in to show that Hernando de Toledo, Señor de Higares, had known Cervantes in Seville, that he had paid but two visits to the house during the year previous to Ezpeleta's death, and that one of these visits took place after Ezpeleta was wounded.[2] Simon Mendez,

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of the Order of Santiago. He was born about 1558, and was a married man (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 506 n. and 530; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 407 *a* and 409–10). He gave his age as thirty-four when questioned by Villarroel. He and Mariana Ramirez were examined solely with respect to their conduct since their conviction in the previous month: they had then been forbidden to hold any further communication with one another, and now denied having infringed this order (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 529–30; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 406 *b*–407 *a*).

[1] This statement, made by Juana Gaitan, is corroborated by her niece Catalina de Aguilera, by Cervantes's sister Andrea, by his niece Costanza, and by both Luisa and Maria de Argomedo Ayala (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 529, 523–4, 519, 516, 525, and 527; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 406 *b*, 405 *a*, 404 *a*, 403 *a*, 405 *b*, and 406 *a*). Juana Gaitan seems to have intended to dedicate two posthumous works of her husband's to the Duque de Pastrana. These works do not appear, however, to have been published.

[2] This was sworn to by Costanza de Ovando, by her mother Andrea, and by Isabel de Saavedra (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 515, 519, and 521; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 403 *a*, 404 *a*, and 404 *b*).

it was testified, called merely on business.[1] The accusations concerning him and Isabel de Saavedra were denied on oath by the latter, and her denials were borne out by both her aunts and by her cousin Costanza.[2] Neither Cervantes nor Mendez was

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[1] Costanza de Ovando deposed 'que el dicho Simon Mendez alguna vez ha ido a visitar a Miguel de Cervantes, tio de esta confesante, por tratar de negocios' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos,* vol. II, p. 515; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época,* p. 402 *b*). The evidence of Costanza's mother on this point is given in the last paragraph of n. 2 below.

[2] Isabel de Saavedra replied as follows to questions concerning her relations with Mendez:

'Preguntada si esta confesante conoce a Simon Mendez, portugues, y de qué le conoce, dixo que le conoce porque es amigo del dicho su padre e porque iba a tratar y comunicar sus negocios con él.

'Preguntada si esta confesante ha tenido particular trato y amistad con el dicho Simon Mendez, y le ha regalado y servido, dixo que lo niega, porque nunca con tal respeto entró en casa del dicho su padre, ni tal ha sabido ni entendido.'

Respecting this declaration (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos,* vol. II, pp. 520–2; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época,* p. 404 *a*, *b*), it may be observed that, after transcribing it, the notary mechanically added the usual formula—'and she signed her name to it' (*y lo firmó de su nombre*). He assumed, not unnaturally, that Cervantes's daughter would be able to write. However, as we know, she had been reared in a humble station, and apparently had not learnt to write. Accordingly, the notary corrected his previous statement with the supplementary words—'and then she said that she did not know how to sign, and she did not sign' (*y luego dixo que no sabia firmar e no firmó*).

Isabel's cousin, Costanza, testified as follows: 'Preguntada si el dicho Simon Mendez es verdad que entra de visita en el quarto donde esta confesante vive, por particular amistad que tiene con doña Isabel de Saavedra, su prima, dixo que no sabe que entre mas de a ver al dicho su tio, ni con otra manera da visita.' Doña Andrea said much the same in further detail: 'Preguntada si en el quarto de esta confesante es continuo de visita ordinaria Simon Mendez, portugues, por trato que tiene con doña Isabel de Saavedra, su sobrina, dixo que Simon Mendez, de quien se le pregunta, algunas veces ha visitado a Miguel de Cervantes, su hermano, sobre ciertas fianzas, dijo que le ha pedido que vaya a hacer al Reyno de Toledo para las rentas que

called by the Alcalde.[1] It became obvious that there was no legal case against the prisoners, but Villarroel was not sufficiently convinced of their innocence to undertake the sole responsibility of discharging them. He called in his colleagues, and, on July 1, the four Alcaldes of Valladolid sitting *in banco* decided to release those in custody; but that further proceedings were contemplated appears from the fact that the Alcaldes at the same time appointed a legal adviser to act for three of the female prisoners who were under age.[2] The prisoners were let out of jail, but under humiliating conditions, varying in individual cases. Cervantes came off best: he was released on his own recognizance. So were Miranda and Mariana Ramirez, but they were condemned to pay six *ducados* for expenses, besides being again forbidden to communicate with one another; and to ensure compliance Miranda was ordered to wind up his

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ha tomado e que por otro titulo ninguno no ha entrado' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 515 and 518; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 402 *b* and 403 *b*).

[1] Mendez was not called during the whole course of the inquiry. Cervantes was examined before Ezpeleta's death, and spoke to helping him upstairs. There was nothing to prevent his being called again, as were other witnesses in the case. As he was not recalled, we may presume that Villarroel did not think he could throw any light on the matter.

[2] The names of the four Alcaldes appear in the following order on the official record: Melchor de Tebes, Cristobal de Villarroel, Alonso de Otalora, and Pedro Manso. The minors were Isabel de Saavedra, Catalina de Aguilera, and Luisa de Argomedo Ayala: Geronimo de la Cueva was appointed to protect their interests (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 531; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 407 *b*).

affairs and leave Valladolid within a fortnight. The women were let out on bail, but were placed under arrest in their house. Simon Mendez was likewise released on bail, but the Court forbade him to enter the house in the Calle del Rastro, and further forbade him to have any communication whatever with Isabel de Saavedra.[1] Mendez was not informed of this decision till July 8,[2] but it is possible that the rest were released before this date, for on July 6 the women concerned petitioned through their attorney that the order forbidding them to leave their houses should be rescinded.[3] The official record of the case, which has an air of incompleteness, as though it had been carelessly drawn up or tampered with, ends with a petition from Andrea de Cervantes begging that she and the other female prisoners be no longer kept indoors,[1] and this petition is followed by a request from Cervantes that some one be sent to take away certain clothes of Ezpeleta's which had been left in his charge.[2] On July 9 Cervantes obtained a receipt for these things from an agent[3] acting on behalf of the Marqués de Falces,[4] and, with their removal, the incident closed—so far as Cervantes was concerned.

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[1] The decision of the Court (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 531–2 ; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 407 *a*, *b*) reads thus: 'Simon Mendez no entre en esta casa, ni hable en publico ni en secreto con esta muger [Isabel de Saavedra], y don Diego de Miranda dentro de quince dias se despache y salga de esta corte y no se junte en publico ni en secreto él ni doña Mariana Ramirez, pena de ser castigados por amancebados, y dexen los dichos don Diego y doña Mariana seis ducados para pobres y gastos; y doña Andrea y doña Juana y las demas sueltenlas en fiado, su casa por carcel, y Miguel de Cervantes en fiado.'

[2] The sentence was communicated to him by Juan Lopez de Carranza (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 532 ; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 407 *b*).

[3] Geronimo de la Cueva appears for Maria de Argomedo Ayala, Luisa de Argomedo Ayala, Andrea de Cervantes, Costanza de Figueroa (or Ovando), Juana Gaitan, Catalina de Aguilera, Isabel de Saavedra, and Mariana Ramirez (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 532–3 ; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 407 *b*). It will be observed that the name of Magdalena de Cervantes (or Sotomayor) does not appear. She, like Cervantes, was not called at the last stage of the inquiry, and presumably nothing could be alleged against her.

It was an unhappy experience for him. Cervantes was, of course, perfectly innocent of any share in Ezpeleta's death; on that point there can be no doubt. But the unanimous decision of the four Alcaldes left his daughter, Isabel de Saavedra, under a cloud. Nothing that is known of her—of her subsequent conduct and of her relations with her father—serves to excite sympathy for her. Unfortunately the Court, in reflecting unfavourably on Isabel de Saavedra, reflected discredit on Cervantes himself, for it implied that he had not been mindful of his daughter's honour. This view does not compel assent. Beyond Isabel de Ayala's uncorroborated testimony, given with all the bias of self-righteousness, there was nothing against Isabel de Saavedra at this time; there is nothing against Simon Mendez, then or later, except that he ran into debt.[1] It may be that Cervantes was too confiding; it may be that he would have been better advised had he prevented his daughter from seeing even as much as she did of a married man like Mendez.[2] But how could he? Consider his position. He lodged, as a poor man must lodge in a big city, cooped up in a hugger-mugger fashion. Literature did not enable him to live in decent independence, and he was forced to eke out his income by doing odds and ends of work for business men into whose characters he could not afford to pry too curiously. He did the best he could in the circumstances by claiming his natural daughter, and by placing her under the same roof as his wife and sisters.

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[1] 'Doña Andrea de Cervantes con las demas presas en la casa por carcel en razon de la muerte de don Gaspar de Ezpeleta, suplica a V. S. las mande dar libres, pues se sabe que no tienen culpa; y hasta agora han estado sin tenella; y para ello, &.' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 533; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 407 *b*).

[2] 'Miguel de Cervantes suplica a V. S. mande que vayan por unas calzas y un jubon y una ropilla, que tiene en su poder, de don Gaspar de Ezpeleta, porque se pudre con la sangre que tiene, y que para ello, &.' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 533; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 407 *b*). It is to be noted that Cervantes's request is signed by his sister Andrea.

[3] The clothes were handed over to Juan de Sotomayor (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 537; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 408 *b*).

[4] On July 7, Falces empowered Juan de Sotomayor to act for him in the inquiry into Ezpeleta's death, and in matters relating to the administration of Ezpeleta's estate. We hear no more of the case after July 17, 1605, when Sotomayor signed a receipt for two rings, two purses, a rosary, three keys, a pair of gloves, and a pair of cuffs which had been left in the charge of the *alguacil* Diego Garcia.

It was probably well known in Valladolid that Ezpeleta had seduced the wife of a notary called

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 488, n. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 488, n. 4. A joint undertaking, dated at Valladolid on October 20, 1605, shows that Simon Mendez was married to Isabel Nuñez de Fonseca.

Galvan, that he had died of wounds inflicted by her husband or one of her relatives,[1] and that Villarroel, obstinately refusing to follow up the true scent, had persisted in harrying a group of poor people who were perfectly innocent. As Cervantes and his family were released on bail we may assume that they continued to reside in Valladolid. While in that city he received the anonymous sonnet abusing *Don Quixote*, for which his niece Costanza was simple enough to pay the postage fee.[2] His sisters, Andrea and Magdalena, were there on November 7, 1605, on which date they signed a power of attorney authorizing Antonio de Avila, a member of the Council of War in Flanders, to take steps to collect on their behalf such arrears of pay as might be due to their brother Rodrigo, who had been killed at Nieuport in 1600.[3] But of Cervantes personally there is no trace during the latter part of 1605 and during 1606.[1] In 1606 the Court returned to Madrid:

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[1] See the evidence of Ezpeleta's servant, Francisco Camporredondo, given at Valladolid on June 27, 1605 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 465–7; Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 392 *a*, *b*).

[2] The reference occurs in the *Adjunta* to the *Viage del Parnaso*.

[3] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 267–9: 'Sepan quantos esta carta de poder vieren como nos doña Andrea de Zerbantes y doña Madalena de Sotomayor, hermanas de el alferez Rodrigo de Çerbantes, y como sus herederas, ambas a dos juntamente otorgamos y conocemos por esta presente carta que damos y otorgamos todo nuestro poder cumplido quan bastante de derecho se requiere y es necesario al señor gouernador Antonio de Auila, del Consejo de Guerra de Su Magestad, ressidente en los estados de Flandes, con poder de sostituir en la persona o personas que le pareciere y por bien tuviere, especialmente para que por nosotras y en nuestro nombre y como nosotras mismas pueda presentar y presente ante Su Alteza del Serenissimo Archiduque Alberto y ante los juezes y ministros de su Consejo de guerra, y ante quien y con derecho pueda y deba una cedula de Su Magestad dirigida al dicho señor Archiduque para que se

averigue y sepa qué cantidad de maravedis se le quedaron debiendo al dicho alferez Rodrigo de Zerbantes, nuestro hermano, de su sueldo de el tiempo que sirvió a Su Magestad en los dichos estados de Flandes, y en razon desto se fenezcan las quentas con el dicho alferez, y de lo que alcanzare se dé certificacion y testimonio segun parece de la dicha cedula, su fecha en la ciudad de Burgos a seis del mes de Agosto passado deste presente año, refrendada de Andres de Prada, secretario de Su Magestad, y firmada de su real mano, y en razon de lo susodicho pueda hazer y haga qualesquier pedimientos y presentaciones que convengan y sean necessarios, y en nuestro nombre, siendo necessario, pueda nombrar contador y persona que haga la dicha quenta, a la qual desde luego habemos por nombrado, y pida se le haga y fenezca la dicha quenta, y hecha y fenecida pida se le den las certificaciones y testimonios que convengan para que con ellos se pueda pedir y cobrar la cantidad de maravedis que pareciere debersenos como tales herederas del dicho alferez Rodrigo de Çerbantes. . . .'

[1] There is no solid ground for attributing to Cervantes the description of the festivities held to celebrate the birth of the future Philip IV (*Relacion de lo sucedido en la ciudad de Valladolid, desde el punto del felicisimo nacimiento del Principe don Felipe Dominico Victor, nuestro Señor, hasta que se acabaron las demostraciones de alegria que por el se hizieron*, Valladolid, 1605). The author of this record seems to have been the historian Antonio de Herrera (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 413–18).

Gayangos identified (*Revista de España*, Madrid, 1884, vol. XCVII, p. 498) Cervantes with a gambling namesake at Valladolid who is mentioned by Tomé Pinheiro de Vega in 1605 (*Memorias de Valladolid*, British Museum, Add. MS. 20,812). The passage, as I read it, is as follows: 'Lope Garcia de La Torre conoceis vos, y deixa sua molher muy dama e fermosa 200 o 300 até de manhã e elle vai se deitar, e quando a dama responde, calla y dexadme, no quereis Lope Garcya? Ceruantes, dá me aquella palmatoria, veremos si le hago callar, como jugava de lo vuestro, renid, mientras juego lo mio, callad.' Cervantes was not an uncommon name at this period, and Gayangos's identification has not been accepted.

For particulars concerning Lope Garcia de la Torre and his wife Juana de Urramendi, see Pérez Pastor, *Noticias y Documentos relativos á la historia y literatura españolas* published in *Memorias de la Real Academia Española* (Madrid, 1910), vol. X, pp. 103-9).

whether Cervantes went there at the same time we have no means of knowing. He had not the means to move his family when and where he chose. After, as before, the publication of *Don Quixote*, he was in low water. It is on record that, at some date between January 1605 and November 23, 1607, he borrowed 450 *reales* from his publisher Robles.[1] It does not follow that Cervantes was residing in Madrid at the time he obtained this loan (whenever that was). The fact is that we hear nothing of him from the summer of 1605 till the summer of 1608. Then he comes into view again at Madrid, where we also find his natural daughter, Isabel de Saavedra, whose conduct had been discussed during the Ezpeleta inquiry at Valladolid in 1605.

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She had had a larger experience of the world during the intervening three years. When we meet her again she is independent, no longer living with her father. It would appear that on June 24, 1608, she began her tenancy of a house in the Calle de la Montera, situated in the Red de San Luis; for this house she paid in advance an annual rent of fifty-three *ducados*, or rather, on August 11, 1608, she obtained a receipt[1] for that amount from an elderly man of affairs called Juan de Urbina, who professed to be acting on behalf of a certain Captain Sebastian Granero, an elusive personage.[2] Whether Cervantes's daughter really paid any rent to Urbina may be doubted. A doubt is suggested by the terms of an agreement signed on August 28, 1608 : the contracting parties were, on the one side, Urbina and Cervantes ; on the other, one Luis de Molina y Castilla, a native of Cuenca. The main provisions of the deed, which was signed by these three and by Isabel de Saavedra,[3] may be summarized as follows[4]:

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 145. When Francisco de Robles married his second wife, an inventory of his belongings was drawn up (Madrid, November 23, 1607). Pérez Pastor gives the following items in a *Memoria de lo que me deben á mi Francisco de Robles*:

'Miguel de Cerbantes, por cedula de dineros prestados, quatrocientos y cinquenta reales . . . . 𝔇 450

Juan de la Cuesta, impresor de libros, como principal, y María Rodriguez de Rivalde, como su fiadora, de resto de obligacion de mayor suma . . . . 3 𝔇 661'

(1) Isabel de Saavedra (described as widow of

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 276–7. 'En la villa de Madrid a onze dias del mes de Agosto de mill e seiscientos y ocho años, ante mi el escribano de Su Magestad e testigos, el señor Juan de Urbina, . . . residente en esta corte, y en nombre del capitan Sebastian Granero, por virtud del poder que dél tiene para cobrar y otras cosas ante mi el escribano, y otorgó que rescibe de Doña Isabel de Saavedra, residente en esta corte, cinquenta y tres ducados en reales que le paga del arrendamiento de la casa que tiene el dicho capitan a la Red de San Luis, que le tiene arrendada por un año, que comenzó el dia de San Juan de Junio pasado deste presente año de mil y seiscientos y ocho y se cumplirá el dia de San Juan de Junio que verná de mil y seiscientos y nueve años, los quales dichos cinquenta y tres ducados le ha pagado. . . .'

[2] Granero seems to have been a man of straw : he and Juan de Acedo Velazquez were employed by Urbina as figureheads—'auxiliares de su devoción'—in various enterprises (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 437-8).

[3] It will be noted that in a receipt of 1608 (p. 144 n.) Cervantes's daughter appears as Isabel de Saavedra : in the marriage contract she appears as Isabel de Cerbantes y Saavedra, as Isabel de Cervantes, and as Isabel Sanz. The signature appended to the latter document reads 'Doña Isabel de Cerbantes Saavedra'.

[4] This contract seems to have been known as far back as 1853.

Diego Sanz and 'legitimate daughter' of Cervantes) was to receive two thousand *ducados* as her dowry on her marriage with Luis de Molina.

Thanks to Sr. Travadillo (who found it), to Sr. Crespo, and to José María Sbarbi, it was published as follows in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* (Madrid, June 15, 1874), pp. 162–5.

'En la villa de Madrid á veinte y ocho dias del mes de Agosto de mil seiscientos é ocho años, ante mi el escrivano publico y testigos de yuso escriptos parecieron presentes los señores Juan de Urbina secretario de los serenísimos Sres. Príncipes de Saboya y Miguel de Cerbantes Saavedra residente en esta corte de la una parte y de la otra Luis de Molina vecino de la ciudad de Cuenca, residente asi mismo en esta corte, y ambas las dichas partes dijeron: que por cuanto mediante la gracia y bendicion de Dios nuestro Señor está tratado é contratado que el dicho Luis de Molina se haya de casar y velar en faz eclesiæ como lo manda el santo concilio de Trento con la Sra. Dª. Isabel de Cerbantes y Saavedra, viuda, muger que fué de D. Diego Sanz, hija legítima de dicho Sr. Miguel de Cervantes y que para ayuda á sustentar las cargas del matrimonio se le hayan de dar dos mil ducados que valen setecientos y cincuenta mil marav. pagados á los plazos que irán dichos y declarados y sobre ellos, entre ellos hacen y otorgan el asiento y capitulacion siguiente en esta manera:—Primeramente el dho. Luis de Molina se obliga que dentro de un més primero siguiente que corre y se cuenta desde hoy dia de la fecha desta carta en adelante se casará y velará con la dicha señora Dª. Isabel de Cervantes por palabra de presente tales que hagan verdadero matrimonio, donde no, que le puedan compeler y apremiar á ello por todo rigor de derecho y demás de lo pagar ha de pena mil ducados aplicados para la dote de la dicha Dª. Isabel, la cual pena pagada, ó no, ó graciosamente remitida siempre ha de ser obligado y se obliga á casarse y velarse dentro del dicho tiempo con la dicha señora Dª. Isabel.—Item los dichos Sres. Juan de Urbina y Miguel de Cerbantes prometen en dote y casamiento al dicho Luis de Molina con la dicha Sra. D.ª Isabel los dichos dos mil ducados los cuales se obligan con sus personas y bienes é raices habidos é por haber ambos á dos juntamente de mancomun á voz de uno, é cada uno de ellos por sí é insolidum por el todo renunciando como renunciaron la ley de duobus res devendi y el autentica presente hoc ita de fidejusoribus, y la epistola del divo Adriano, y las leyes de la escusion y division como en ella se contiene de los dar y pagar y que los darán y pagarán al dicho Luis de Molina ó á quien su poder oviere dentro de tres años primeros siguientes que corren y se

(2) Molina undertook to marry Isabel de Saavedra within a month of August 28, 1608 ; failing this, he was to pay a thousand *ducados* towards her dowry,

cuentan desde hoy dia de la fecha de esta carta en adelante y se acabarán en veinte y nueve de Agosto del año que viene de mil seiscientos y once llanamente en reales de plata, y no en otra moneda, puestos en esta corte en su poder á costa y mision de los dichos señores Juan de Urbina y Miguel de Cervantes, y para la seguridad de los otros mil [*¿ de los dos mil ?*] ducados el dicho Juan de Urbina obliga é hipoteca por especial y espresa hipoteca no derogando á la general, unas casas que tiene suyas propias en la calle del Prado de esta villa que tienen por linderos de la una parte con casas de D. Juan Alonso comprador de la Reina nuestra señora y de la otra con casas de Juan del Castillo, sastre, y ansi mismo obliga é hipoteca una heredad que compró de Alonso Nuñez de Larabras en el arroyo de Breñigal, en la cual está labrando una casa y huerta, y tiene labrado un estanque, para no los poder vender ni traspasar á persona alguna hasta tanto quel dicho Luis de Molina esté pagado enteramente de los dichos dos mil ducados y la venta que de otra manera hiciere sea ninguna de ningun valor ni efecto, é ansi mismo obligó é hipotecó dos molinos que tiene en la villa de Tembleque para que estén obligados á la seguridad de los dichos dos mil ducados, las cuales dichas casas, heredades é molinos están libres de censo alguno escepto la dicha heredad que tiene trescientos ducados de principal de que se paga censo al dicho Alonso Nuñez de Larabras y las dichas casas que tienen cuatro reales de censo perpetuo.

Item el dicho Luis de Molina se obligó que cada y cuando que recibiese el dicho dote, á todo lo demas que se diere demas de los dichos dos mil ducados dará carta de pago de ellos y hará escritura de dote en forma con los requisitos necesarios ; y porque la dicha señora D.ª Isabel Sanz del primer matrimonio tiene una niña que se llama Isabel Sanz de edad de ocho meses poco mas ó menos, la cual tiene una casa en esta dicha villa en la Red de San Luis que tiene por linderos casas de Juan García : es condicion que la dicha casa la haya de vivir la dicha señora Dª. Isabel su madre y el dicho Luis de Molina todo el tiempo que la dicha niña no tubiere estado sin que por ello pague cosa alguna, y si la niña faltare antes de tomar estado lo hayan de gozar todo el tiempo que la dicha Dª. Isabel su madre viviese, y si la dicha señora Dª. Isabel faltase aunque deje hijos deste matrimonio ha de gozar las dichas casas el dicho Miguel de Cerbantes su abuelo, padre de la dicha Dª. Isabel y despues de sus dias han

and was to be held to his engagement, notwithstanding the payment of the said thousand *ducados.*

de quedar las dichas casas para quien el dicho Miguel de Cerbantes quisiere, y porque la dicha casa tiene de censo quinientos ducados al quitar por las cuales se pagan de censo en cada año treinta y cinco ducados; los dichos señores Juan de Urbina y Miguel de Cerbantes juntos de mancomun debajo de la dicha mancomunidad é escursion se obligan de pagar el dicho censo y el perpetuo que tienen á quien lo hubiere de haber, todo el tiempo que el dicho Luis de Molina viviere en las dichas casas porque la dicha vivienda se la han de dejar libre sin que por ella pague cosa alguna. Y porque este dote que se da á la dicha señora Dª. Isabel con el dicho Luis de Molina el dicho Sr. Juan de Urbina le da por algunas causas que á ello le mueven. Es condicion que si el dicho Luis de Molina hubiese hijos deste matrimonio no haya de entrar ni entre la dicha Isabel menor con particion ó division, con los herederos del dicho Luis de Molina y no teniendo hijos ha de ser heredera la dicha Dª. Isabel menor. Y la dicha Sra. Dª. Isabel que estuvo presente al otorgamiento desta escritura se obligó de casarse y velarse con el dicho Luis de Molina dentro del dicho tiempo del dicho un mes, donde no, que si se saliere fuera pagará el dicho Luis de Molina los dichos mil ducados, demas de que lo puedan compeler é apremiar á ello por todo rigor de derecho. Todo lo cual contenido en esta dicha escritura todos los susodichos se obligaron en forma de lo guardar y cumplir é por esta carta dieron poder cumplido á todas é cualesquier justicias ó juez de S. M. de cualesquiera parte y lugares que sean á cuya jurisdiccion se sometieron y renunciaron su propio fuero, y privilegio y la ley si convenerit, para que ansí se lo hagan cumplir como si fuese sentencia definitiva de juez competente, pasado en cosa juzgada é por ellos consentida: renunciaron cualesquier leyes que sean en su favor que non les valan en juicio ni fuera del, y la ley de derecho que dice que general renunciacion de leyes fecha non vala. Y la dicha señora Dª. Isabel renunció las leyes y privilegios de los Emperadores Senatus consultus Justiniano y el auxilio del Veleyano y leyes de Toro y nueva constitucion, que hablan en favor de las mujeres de cuyas fuerzas fué avisada por mi el presente Escribano y lo otorgaron ansí ante mí el dicho Escribano y lo firmaron de sus nombres en el registro, á los cuales doy fe que conozco siendo testigos el doctor Baltasar Carrillo é Juan de Acevedo Velazquez y Cristobal del Castillo de Inojosa estantes en esta córte. Doña Isabel de Cerbantes Saavedra.—Juan de Urbina.—Miguel de Cerbantes Saavedra.—Luis de Molina.—Pasó ante mí Luis de Velasco—va testado, aunque

(3) Juan de Urbina and Cervantes made themselves responsible for the payment, within the next three years (ending August 29, 1611), of the two thousand *ducados* constituting Isabel de Saavedra's dowry, Urbina mortgaging specific properties for this purpose.

(4) With respect to the house occupied by Isabel de Saavedra in the Red de San Luis—and now described as belonging to her daughter Isabel Sanz, a child about eight months old—it was provided that (*a*) Isabel de Saavedra and Molina should live in it rent free for so long as Isabel Sanz might remain unmarried, Urbina and Cervantes undertaking to pay rates and ground-rent; (*b*) if Isabel Sanz died unmarried before her mother, Isabel de Saavedra and Molina were to have the use of the house during Isabel de Saavedra's lifetime, Urbina and Cervantes undertaking to pay rates and ground-rent; (*c*) if Isabel Sanz and Isabel de Saavedra both predeceased Cervantes, the house went to him, even though his daughter should leave issue by her marriage with Molina; and (*d*) in this case Cervantes was to be free to bequeath the house to whom he chose.

(5) After stating that Juan de Urbina pays the dowry for 'certain reasons that move him thereunto', the contract provided that (*a*) should Molina have issue by his marriage with Isabel de Saavedra,

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deje hijos.—E yo Luis de Velasco escribano público del rey N. S. vecino de Madrid fuí presente con los dichos testigos y puse mi signo en testimonio de verdad.—Luis de Velasco.'

her daughter Isabel Sanz should have no share or part in the property falling to Molina's heirs; but (*b*) should Molina's marriage with Isabel de Saavedra be without issue, Isabel Sanz should inherit.

(6) Isabel de Saavedra undertook to marry Molina within a month of August 28, 1608; failing this, she was to pay Molina a thousand *ducados*, and was to be held to her engagement, notwithstanding the payment of the said thousand *ducados*.

This document is full of puzzles, and perhaps of something worse. It is to be noted that Isabel de Saavedra, who in 1605 was described by her aunt Magdalena at Valladolid as Cervantes's natural daughter, comes forward in 1608 as his legitimate daughter; it is to be noted that, though unable to write at Valladolid in 1605 she can (apparently) sign a marriage settlement at Madrid in 1608[1]; it will further be noted that she is no longer a spinster, but a widow with a daughter about eight months old. So far, no record of her marriage has been found, and no details are available concerning her first husband, Diego Sanz del Aguila.[1] Obviously he cannot well have died before the summer of 1607, if his daughter's age is correctly stated in the deed of settlement; he may have died later: in either case Isabel de Saavedra's widowhood was short. It is, however, unsafe to base deductions on a document drawn up with the object of concealing inconvenient facts, and this marriage deed is precisely such a document. An examination of its contents provokes embarrassing questions. If, as alleged in the agreement, the house in the Red de San Luis belonged to Isabel Sanz on August 28, 1608, why should her mother pay fifty-three *ducados* rent for it to Granero (through Urbina) on August 11? On the face of it, we might assume that, between August 11 and August 28, Granero had transferred the house to Isabel Sanz. That assumption, however, would be mistaken; for we happen to know that, despite his pretence to the contrary, Juan de Urbina was the real owner of the house on August 11,[2] and the transfer—if any transfer ever took place—must have been made by him. Not less perplexing is the appearance of Cervantes as joint security for the payment of a sum of two thousand *ducados*, not to speak of yearly rates and ground-rent. The two thousand *ducados* were four times the amount of his ransom, and many times the amount of sums for which he had defaulted and gone to prison. He was as poor as ever: we have seen him, after the publication of *Don Quixote*, forced to borrow a few hundred *reales* from Robles. How came he to assume obligations which it was impossible for him to meet? The only answer is that he was sure of their being met by some one else—by Urbina, in fact. This brings us to the most disquieting item in the contract: the intervention of a stranger like Urbina in Cervantes's family affairs. Urbina was not a youthful visionary philanthropist. As secretary of the Duke of Savoy, he had experience of affairs; he was a married man of mature age, a shrewd and enterprising speculator, not over scrupulous in his methods.[1] How are we to explain the action of

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[1] When publishing the document on June 15, 1874, D. Vicente Vignau, the editor of the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, added a note (p. 162) in which he says: 'Este precioso documento fué encontrado por el relator Sr. Travadillo en la titulacion de unas fincas de esta corte con motivo de un pleito que se vió el año 1853 en esta Audiencia; en cuyo archivo debe existir el original á que se refiere.' In the absence of the original, it might be contended that Cervantes himself added his daughter's name to the marriage deed. As against this, it may be pointed out that Isabel de Saavedra's signature is attached to a power of attorney dated November 17, 1608 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 278-9), and to many documents of later date.

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[1] The name is given in full—'Don Diego Sanz del Aguila, mi primero marido'—in Isabel de Saavedra's last will, dated September 19, 1652 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 338).

Pérez Pastor searched without result for the marriage certificate of Sanz and Isabel de Saavedra in the archives of the parishes of San Sebastián, San Martín, San Luis, and San Ginés; he searched for the baptismal certificate of their daughter Isabel Sanz in the archives of the two last-named parishes, but without success; and in these two archives he also failed to find the death certificate of Sanz (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 336). It is possible that the marriage took place at Valladolid: the non-appearance of the child's baptismal certificate is less easily explained.

[2] On January 29, 1608, Granero declared before a notary that the house standing in his name in the Red de San Luis had been bought

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with Urbina's money, and was Urbina's property: see Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 421 n. [item *f*].

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 430–47. Urbina married Margarita Mérula in Italy before he went to Spain towards the end of the sixteenth century. At Madrid he joined the household of the Duke of Savoy in 1604, and two years later his wife and his grandchildren were ordered by the Duke to return to Italy. His wife died in 1616, the same year as Cervantes (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 444 n.); Urbina himself survived till the end of 1632 or the beginning of 1633 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 427).

such a man in giving, for no apparent reason, a very sufficient dowry to Isabel de Saavedra on her hasty marriage with Molina? No satisfactory explanation has hitherto occurred to any of Cervantes's innumerable admirers.[1] Perhaps some unedifying story is hidden from us.

Be that as it may, the bargain was struck, and no time was lost in carrying it out. On September 8, 1608, Isabel de Saavedra and Molina were solemnly *desposados* in the presence of Cervantes at the parish church of San Luis in Madrid.[2] This *desposorio* was in fact a marriage,[3] but cohabitation was postponed till the more formal ceremony took place,[1] and till Urbina had another opportunity of displaying his benevolence. Meanwhile, the bride showed that her confidence in Molina was not excessive. He was no novice in affairs; for, after his release from slavery at Algiers in 1598,[2] he had found employment with the firm of Carlos and Antonio Maria Trata (or Strata), two Genoese money-changers and bankers established in Madrid.[3] Soon after her betrothal, Cervantes's daughter resolved to sue[4] her mother's executor for sums which, as she alleged, he was withholding from her. The most natural course would have been for her to profit by Molina's experience, and place her case in his hands. It may be that she knew him too well and mistrusted his business capacity. At any rate she passed him by,[5]

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[1] Pérez Pastor (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 440–3) assumes that Cervantes and Urbina formed a friendship at Valladolid, and that this was intimate enough to lead Urbina to provide a dowry for his friend's daughter: 'Suponemos que el secretario Juan de Urbina conocería en Valladolid á Cervantes y á su familia, fundándonos en que no se establece de repente una amistad, especialmente si lleva consigo dispendios y sacrificios, como fueron los que Urbina hizo en 1608, siendo fiador de 2,000 ducados para la dote de Doña Isabel de Saavedra, dejándola en usufructo la casa de la Red de San Luís y relevando al matrimonio del pago del censo de la dicha casa, para lo cual se ofreció como fiador Juan de Acedo Velázquez, íntimo amigo de Urbina.' The conjecture may be correct. Still, documents referring to Urbina (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 432 n.) prove that he resided at Madrid in 1605–8, and hence his visits to Valladolid would probably have been too few and brief to allow of his forming an intimate friendship with Cervantes at this time.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 146: 'En ocho de Septiembre del dicho año (1608) yo, el licenciado Francisco Ramos, desposé in facie eclesiæ a Luis de Molina con doña Isabel de Saavedra por mandamiento. Testigo el doctor Carrillo, medico, y Pedro Diaz de Paredes y Miguel de Çerbantes.—El licenciado Ramos.'

[3] In a document of November 17, 1608, Isabel de Saavedra refers to Molina as 'su marido' (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 278); in a document of December 5, 1608 (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 147), Luis de Molina says: '. . . yo soy desposado por palabras de presente que hazen legitimo y verdadero

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matrimonio con mi esposa doña Isabel de Çerbantes y Saabedra, muger que primero fué de Diego Sanz, hija legitima de Miguel de Çerbantes. . . .' It will be observed that, for the sake of appearances, Molina represents his wife as being of legitimate birth.

[1] This appears from a statement of Molina's in the document of December 5 last mentioned (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 147): '. . . y porque yo me entiendo de velar con la dicha mi esposa en haz de la sancta madre yglesia, y consumarle su matrimonio. . . .'

[2] Concerning Molina's ransom, see the *obligaciones* (April 2 and 3, 1598) of the Mercenarians printed by Pérez Pastor, with comments (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 123–30, 278–80).

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 272–5, 418–20.

[4] Her cousin Costanza was likewise engaged in litigation at about this date. She obtained a writ of execution for 1,100 *reales* against a certain Francisco Leal: Leal paid her this sum on December 18, 1608 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 280–1).

[5] It is right to add that, as appears from the document quoted in the next note, she had obtained Molina's permission to nominate her aunt on October 29.

and on November 17 empowered her aunt Magdalena to act for her in this suit (as well as in other suits not specified).[1] Urbina now came forward again as a benefactor, and gallantly provided a trousseau. We can still trace the course of his beneficence. On September 3, 1608, he undertook to pay before Christmas 1,800 *reales* which he owed to a Madrid tradesman from whom he had bought a quantity of materials suitable for women's dresses.[2] Most, if not all, of these materials passed at once into Isabel de Saavedra's possession, and appear transformed in a long inventory of articles which were her contribution towards setting up house.[1] Molina was living at Valladolid in 1606[2] before the Ezpeleta incident had been forgotten. There, or later at Madrid, he must have learned the circumstances of the bride's family. He must have known that Cervantes could not provide her with the handsome outfit which she brought with her, and there is no indication that Isabel de Saavedra's first husband, Diego Sanz del Aguila, was a man of means. But Molina did not inquire too curiously: *beati possidentes.* He had no foolish pride, and on December 5 he signed a receipt[3] for the entire outfit furnished by Urbina and valued at 14,753 *reales*, being careful to

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 278–9: 'En la villa de Madrid a diez y siete dias del mes de Noviembre de mil y seiscientos y ocho años, ante mi el escribano público e testigos deyuso escriptos, pareció presente Doña Isabel de Saavedra, mujer de Luis de Molina, residente en esta corte, y en virtud del poder que tiene del dicho su marido, que passó y se otorgó en esta villa de Madrid ante Luis de Velasco, escribano de Su Magestad, en vente y nueve dias del mes de Otubre passado deste año, general para cobrar, de que yo el presente escribano doy fee, e usando del dicho poder dixo y otorgó que daba y dió su poder cumplido bastante, el que se requiere y es necesario, a Doña Madalena de Sotomayor, beata de la tercera orden de Señor San Francisco, residente en esta corte, para que por ella y en su nombre pueda haber, rescibir y cobrar todos e qualesquier maravedis que le sean debidos por escripturas, cedulas y en otra qualquier manera, y en especial pueda haber y cobrar de Miguel Hernandez, criado de Su Magestad, para que pueda cobrar de él los maravedis que paresciere deber y tener en su poder como albacea de Ana Franca, difunta, madre de la dicha Doña Isabel de Saavedra, y sobre la dicha cobranza pueda parecer en juicio y dar cartas de pago. . . .'

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 434–5 [item 9]: 'Obligación de Juan de Urbina, secretario de los Príncipes de Saboya, residente en la corte, morador en la calle de las Tres Cruces, de pagar á Juan Trujillo, mercader, 1,800 reales, precio de

"18 varas de gurbion rosa seca, verde y blanco, á 26 reales la vara.

15 varas de tafetán verde mar, á 9 reales vara.

9½ varas de raso negro alto de Valencia, á 27 reales la vara.

7 varas de raso negro de Valencia, entrealto, á 18 reales la vara.

9 varas de terciopelo negro, dos pelos, fondo en raso, á 42 reales la vara.

15 varas de tafetán negro, doblete de Granada, á 8 reales la vara.

6 varas de angeo, á 2 reales la vara.
3 varas de bocací negro, á 4 reales la vara.
13 onzas y 6 adarmes de molinillos negros, á 7 reales onza.
20½ onzas de pasamanos de seda fina de colores, á 7 reales onza.
2½ varas de tafetán labrado, de color, á 14½ reales la vara.
1½ vara de Nantes blanco, á 3½ reales la vara."

El pago será para Navidad del presente año.

Testigos: El Dr. Baltasar Carrillo, médico, Francisco Molardo y Felipe Rizco, criados del otorgante. Madrid, 3 Septiembre, 1608.'

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos,* vol. I, pp. 147–54. The '18 varas de gurbion rosa seca' bought from Trujillo reappear as 'Item un vestido de gorbion rosa seca, guarnecido, en mil reales', and so forth (see Cotarelo y Mori, *Efemérides cervantinas,* p. 229). An examination of the list shows that Urbina did things handsomely. Among the articles are two diamond rings, a ruby ring, gold bracelets, and a silver ewer. These can scarcely have been given by Cervantes, who is more likely to be the donor of the thirty-eighth item on the list: 'Item seis libros de diferentes historias, en cien reales.'

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 418 n. (items 1 and 2).

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 147–54.

have it recorded that this was over and above the two thousand *ducados* already guaranteed.[1] The path was now smooth. On March 1, 1609, Isabel de Saavedra and Molina were finally married at the parish church of San Luis in Madrid, Cervantes and his wife acting as sponsors.[2]

It is hard to say what share Cervantes had in these prenuptial manœuvres, and it would be grotesque for commonplace Pharisees like the rest of us to sit in judgement on him. Yet it is impossible to avoid drawing some provisional conclusion from the fragmentary evidence before us. It may be that, though a hero at the post of danger and a master in the field of literature, Cervantes was less intrepid and less masterful in his home. He had lived out of it too long. His experience as a subordinate in the public service had accustomed him to compromises, and to being overruled. The fact that he was poorer than his wife, and poorer than his daughter, did not tend to strengthen his authority. We are fain to make excuses for him. But, if he be rightly quoted in certain documents (which are available only in the form of an imperfect transcription), it must be admitted that Cervantes did more than yield a weak and mute acquiescence to Urbina's plans. Within little more than a year of his daughter's marriage, we shall find Cervantes declaring that the house in the Red de San Luis had been bought with his money, and that it would revert to him under the conditions set out in the marriage contract.[1] As Cervantes had no money, his statement must be interpreted in a non-natural sense. It is all the more inexplicable that he should have made it since he had privately signed a document (produced in court later) in which he acknowledged that the house belonged to Urbina.[2] The incident

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 153: '. . . y es declaracion que los bienes que agora rescibo son demas y aliende de los dos mill ducados que Juan de Urbina e Miguel de Çerbantes me están obligados a pagar por quenta de la dote de la dicha mi esposa a ciertos plaços por escritura otorgada ante Luis de Velasco, escribano de su magestad . . . la qual ha de quedar y queda en su fuerça y vigor. . . .'

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 155: 'En el dicho dia (primero de Marzo de 1609) por decreto de Señoria Illustrisima el Señor Cardenal de Toledo, vellé a Luis de Molina con doña Isabel de Saavedra; padrinos Miguel de Çerbantes y doña Catalina de Salaçar. Testigos Pedro Diaz de Paredes y Mateo Aparicio y Juan de Açedo Belazquez y otros, y lo firmé.—El Licenciado Ramos.'

Juan de Acedo Velazquez was, like Captain Sebastian Granero, one of the agents employed by Urbina in his business transactions. We cannot tell whether Urbina was, or was not, one of the 'otros' mentioned in the certificate.

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[1] See the third document printed by Julio de Sigüenza, under the heading of *La Hija de Cervántes*, in *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (8 de Mayo de 1882), año xxvi, núm. xvii, p. 287: 'assi mysmo en 27. m.^{co} 610 el Miguel de Cerb.^{tes} otorgo scrip.^{a} declarando q.^{e} las dichas cassas son del — y q.^{e} a de suceder en ellas en pp.^{d} y usufructo despues de la vida de la S— d— ysabel muriendo la menor antes de tomar estado por ser suya y conprada con su din.^{o} y asi lo contiene y tiene por bien.'

[2] See the fifth document printed by Julio de Sigüenza (*Ibid.*, 8 de Mayo de 1882), año xxvi, núm. xvii, p. 287. The words in [ ] are conjectural, being attempts to supply what is obviously missing. Illegible passages are indicated by the suspensive points . . . as in Sigüenza's transcription.

'Ju.^{o} de Urbina = con luis de molina y su mug.^{r} d.^{a} Ysavel de saavedra y Cerbantes. R.^{or} El l.^{do} Florez = Manuel m.^{z} en nombre de Joan de urbina secretario del serenísimo Príncipe gran prior de s.^{n} Joan. Pongo demanda á doña ysabel de saabedra y cerbantes y á luis is regrettable. Cervantes was lost in the atmosphere of deceit and trickery which involved his daughter,

de molina su marido. Vecinos de esta villa, y haciendo Relacion del caso digo que tiniendo mi parte unas casas suyas propias en la calle de la Red de san Luis que tienen por linderos casas de Joan Garces al tiempo y cuando se capitulo el casamiento entre los dichos luis de molina y su muger fué pacto y condicion que las dichas casas las biviesen los suso dichos miéntras no tomase estado Doña ysabel sanz hija de la dha. doña ysabel de saabedra y en tomándole avia de ser para la dha. niña y en caso que faltase ántes de tomar estado fué condicion que ubiese de gozar las dhas. casas por su bida la dha. doña ysabel de Saavedra y que falleciendo ella aunque dejase hijos del dho. matrimonio uviese de gozar las dichas [casas Miguel] de cerbantes padre de la dha. doña [ysabel de sa]abedra y despues de sus dias queda[rian dichas] casas á quien el dho. miguel de cer[bantes] . . . y aunque el lo literal de la es[criptura] esto ansí el intento y trato fué que . . . dha. doña ysabel sanz muriese sin . . . la propriedad de las dhas. casas uviese . . . de mi p.^{te} de tal manera que la dha. [doña ysa]bel de saabedra tuviese la abita[cion por sus] dias faltando ella aunque dejase . . . diese la dicha casa á mi parte . . . aunque por algunos Respectos no se hizo mencion en la escritura de capitulacion el dho. Miguel de Cerbantes otorgo escriptura de declaracion en favor de mi p.^{te} en la conformidad Referida que es esta que presento con el Juramento necesario juntamente con la capitulacion otorgada en Racon del dho. casamiento y por aver muerto la dha. doña ysabel sanz sin tomar estado á llegado el caso por donde pertenece á mi p.^{te} la dha. casa en propiedad y atento á que la dha. doña ysabel de saavedra se jacta de que la dha. casa es suya en propiedad y de que no tiene obligacion á restituirla á mi p.^{e} = Pido y supp.^{co} á Vmd. declare pertenecer en propiedad la dha. casa al dho. secretario Joan de urbina mi parte y la dha. doña ysabel solo tener derecho para abitarla por su bida y estar obligada á restituírsela por su muerte sus herederos al dho. Juan de urbina y los suyos sobre que pido Just.^{a} y costas y para ello etc. y juro esta demanda en forma. . . .'

The passage concerning Cervantes's acknowledgement that the house really belonged to Urbina is, it will be observed, categorical: 'aunque por algunos Respectos no se hizo mencion en la escritura de capitulacion el dho. Miguel de Cerbantes otorgo escriptura de declaracion en favor de mi p.^{te} en la conformidad Referida que es esta que presento con el Juramento necesario.'

The approximate date of Urbina's petition can be fixed by the *auto* her husband, and their benefactor. Nor were his troubles only of the domestic kind. Shortly before his daughter's marriage he had a disagreeable reminder that the Treasury had not forgotten him. On November 6, 1608, he and his surety Suarez Gasco were summoned to appear before the Exchequer authorities within ten days. There was evidently some delay, for Cervantes did not acknowledge service of the writ till November 24.[1] What happened subsequently is unknown. For thirteen years the Treasury had continued to press its claim against Cervantes: we hear no more of it after 1608,

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which follows: 'Que se de traslado á la otra p.^{te} y el contenido en esta pre.^{a} jure y declare como se pide y nombre procurador conocido con quien sigan los autos con señalamiento de estrados El alcalde don sebastian de carabaxal lo m.^{do} en m.^{d} á treinta y uno de hen.^{o} de seisc.^{os} y v.^{te} é dos años = Hordoñez.'

Urbina's petition, then, was presented on or before January 31, 1622, by Manuel Martinez, who produced Cervantes's written declaration as part of his case.

[1] Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 515; Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 440: 'En Madrid, á seis de Noviembre de 1608 se dió auto contra el dicho Miguel de Cervantes y D. Francisco Suárez Gasco, residente en esta corte, y vecino de Tarancón, como su fiador, con término de 10 días [y pena de 10 ducados y 50 ducados á buena cuenta].

'En 24 del dicho mes y año se notificó al dicho Miguel de Cervantes, y respondió que le oía; y el dicho auto y un pliego respondido [por los libros de relaciones, por donde consta que el dicho D. Francisco Suárez, es su fiador en cantidad de 4 mil ducados,] están en el libro de autos de particulares de esta Contaduría.'

Navarrete (who omits the words given in [ ] above) conjectures (*Ibid.*, p. 440) that Cervantes either gave a satisfactory explanation, or paid the balance (if there was any balance) against him. His reason for thinking so is that we hear no more of the matter. He notes, however, that we have not all the documents before us. This is so: the *Libro de autos de particulares* and the *Manual de los libros de cargos y otras resultas* are both missing.

the year that Urbina came into his life. Whether there is any connexion between the two things is a matter of curious conjecture.

In 1609 Cervantes was lodging in the Calle de la Magdalena with his wife, his sisters, and his niece Costanza. As already stated, his wife was present at the final marriage of Isabel de Saavedra and Molina, though not at their *desposorio.* A childless woman, she had no easy part to play by her husband's natural daughter, but she seems to have done her duty, and rather more than her duty, by that unsympathetic person. For many years, while Cervantes was engaged as commissary in Andalusia, he and Doña Catalina had necessarily seen little of one another. Now, towards the end of their married life, religion seems to have drawn them somewhat closer together. On April 17, 1609, Cervantes joined the newly-founded Confraternity of Slaves of the Most Blessed Sacrament.[1] On June 8, following the example set them the year before by Magdalena de Cervantes,[2]

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[1] There appear (Navarrete, *Vida,* pp. 476–80) to have been two confraternities of 'indignos esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento': one which met in the Oratorio del Caballero de Gracia, and another which met in the Calle del Olivar. The latter, to which Cervantes belonged, was founded on November 28, 1608, by the Barefooted Trinitarian Fray Alonso de la Purificacion and Antonio Robles y Guzman, a devout layman attached to Philip III's court. Navarrete gives (p. 479) the following contemporary record of Cervantes's admission to the confraternity:

'Recibióse en esta santa hermandad por esclavo del Santísimo Sacramento á Miguel de Cervantes, y dijo que guardaria sus santas constituciones, y lo firmó en Madrid á 17 de abril de 1609. = Esclavo del Santísimo Sacramento: Miguel de Cervantes.'

[2] That Magdalena had already received the habit is shown by

Cervantes's wife and his sister Andrea received the habit of the Third Order of Saint Francis.[1] In the record of her admission as a Tertiary, Andrea is described as 'widow of General Alvaro Mendaño', and this description would imply that she had married again since June 30, 1605, when she declared on oath before Villarroel at Valladolid that she was the widow of a Florentine named Sante Ambrosio.[2]

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a phrase in Isabel de Saavedra's power of attorney (November 17, 1608): 'Doña Madalena de Sotomayor, beata de la tercera orden de Señor San Francisco.' See Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 278.

[1] See Juan Antonio Pellicer, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* in *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Madrid, 1797–8), vol. I, p. ccxiii:

'D. Pedro Lopez Adan, presbitero, Voto perpetuo, y Archivero de la Venerable Orden Tercera de Penitencia de la regular observancia de N. S. P. S. Francisco de esta villa de Madrid: certifico que en uno de los libros, en los que se escriben las personas de uno y otro sexô que reciben el habito y profesan en la V. Orden de esta Corte, que dio principio en 1. de junio de 1608. años, y finalizó en 27. de diciembre de 1616. en el folio 4. vuelto, y entre las que recibieron el habito en 8. de junio de 1609. por mano del R. P. Fr. Diego Ordoñez, provincial, se hallan las dos partidas siguientes, señaladas con los numeros 72. y 73.

'*Num.* 72: Dª. Andrea de Cervantes, viuda del General Alvaro Mendaño: vive en la calle de la Magdalena, á las espaldas de la duquesa de Pastrana.

'*Num.* 73: Dª. Catalina de Salazar Vozmediano, muger de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: vive en la mesma casa de la de arriba: ya vive á las espaldas de Elorito.'

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 517: 'En el dicho dia e mes e año [treinta dias del mes de Junio de mil e seiscientos e cinco años] el dicho señor Alcalde mandó parecer ante si a doña Andrea de Cervantes, presa, y de ella recibio juramento en forma de derecho, y se le preguntó lo siguiente:

'Preguntada cómo se llama y qué edad y estado tiene, dixo que se llama doña Andrea de Cervantes, viuda, muger que fue de Sante Ambrosio, florentin, y que antes fué desposada y concertada con Niculas de Ovando, y es de edad de cinquenta años.'

Research has revealed no trace of any Spanish general called Alvaro Mendaño.[1] If Andrea was responsible for the entry, it may perhaps be regarded as the last of her mystifications. Her course was run: on October 9, 1609, she died of fever at Cervantes's house in Madrid, and was buried at his expense in the church of Saint Sebastian.[2]

The other members of Cervantes's household made ready for the last journey. Magdalena was fully professed in the Third Order of Saint Francis on February 2, 1610.[3] On June 16 Cervantes's wife made her will, before making her profession. By this will, apparently made without the knowledge of her husband, Doña Catalina bequeathed almost all her property to her brother Francisco de Palacios Salazar, and left Cervantes a life-interest in a vineyard and a piece of land; both of these were to pass, after Cervantes's death, to his niece Costanza for two years, when they were to go with the rest to Francisco de Palacios Salazar. In addition to this, Doña Catalina bequeathed to Cervantes the bed she died in, with the bedclothes, and such pieces of furniture as were not left to her brother Francisco. The bequest was made 'por el mucho amor y buena compañia que ambos hemos tenido'. It may perhaps seem that the wife's reference to her husband is couched in language not much warmer than she uses in speaking of her maid Maria de Ugena, to whom she left certain clothes—'por el mucho amor que la tengo por el tiempo que me sirvió siendo niña'. But we cannot feel sure whether these words are her own or the stock phrases of the notary Baltasar

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[1] The nearest approach is Alvaro de Mendaña, whose name appears now and then as Mendaño; he cannot, however, have married Andrea after 1605, for he died on October 18, 1595: see Navarrete, *Vida*, p. 251.

[2] Juan Antonio Pellicer, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* in *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Madrid, 1797–8), vol. I, p. ccxv: 'En el Libro de Difuntos [de la parroquia de S. Sebastian de esta Corte], que empieza el año de 1609. y acaba en el de 1620. fol. 31. se dice:

'En Madrid en nueve dias del mes de otubre de mil y seiscientos y nueve años murio de calenturas Dª. Andrea de Cerbantes, viuda de Sante Ambrosi, florentin, de hedad de 65. años. Dexó una hija, y no testó. Recibio los santos sacramentos de mano del licenciado Francisco Lopez, Tiniente de Cura de la dicha iglesia. Enterrola Miguel de Cerbantes, su hermano, que ambos vivian en la calle de la Madalena, frontero de Francisco Daza, maestro de hacer coches. Enterrose en S. Sebastian en orden de dos ducados.'

Andrea's age is correctly given here. At Valladolid in 1605 she was nearly sixty-one instead of fifty, as she supposed: see p. 60, n. 3.

[3] On January 4, 1610, an official of the Third Order was directed to make inquiries as to 'la vida y costumbres y aprovechamiento que han hecho en el año de noviciado las personas que han de profesar a dos de Febrero de este año de mil y seiscientos y diez'. Under the date of January 10, the record continues: '. . . y propuso el padre ministro a los padres y hermanos como cumplian el año de noviciado los hermanos y hermanas siguientes: Carlos de Timan, Pedro de Vera, Doña Felipa del Castillo, Doña Isabel Fajardo, doncella, Doña

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Madalena de Sotomayor, doncella, Doña Francisca Gomez, viuda, Doña Estefania de Idrobo, casada, y que se habia hecho la informacion por el calificador y se habia hallado ser gente virtuosa y dignos de que se les diese la profesion, y oida y entendida la dicha informacion, votaron y declararon se les diese la profesion el dia de nuestra Señora de la Purificacion venidera.—Luego incontinenti fueron llamados por el hermano portero y se presentaron ante el perlado, incados de rodillas pidieron la profesion y se les fue concedida declarandoles lo que debian hacer para ella, lo qual fue fecho en diez de Enero de mil seiscientos y diez años, de que yo el presente infrascripto notario, que presente estuve a lo arriba referido, doy fe.—Juan de la Peña, Secretario.' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 282-4.)

de Ugena, possibly a kinsman of the maid's. Perhaps, too, the bequests to Cervantes may be regarded as more or less formal, for it must have occurred to Doña Catalina's advisers, if not to herself, that her husband, who was nineteen years her senior, was unlikely to survive her (as indeed he did not). A bequest of fifty *reales* yearly to her brother, Fray Antonio de Salazar, for books may be construed as a sign of interest in literature; it may also be taken as an indication of her attachment to her family—an attachment which she further manifested by leaving directions that she was to be buried in her father's grave at Esquivias.[1] We need not pause to discuss

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 156–63. For this long document it may be enough to quote the more important clauses:

'Item mando que quando Dios sea servido de me llevar desta presente vida, mi cuerpo sea llevado al lugar de Esquivias, jurisdicion de la cibdad de Toledo, y me entierren en la sepoltura de Fernando de Salaçar Bosmediano, mi padre, que está en el coro de la yglesia del dicho lugar junto a la grada del altar mayor de la dicha yglesia, que está con su losa. . . .

'Item mando a Francisco de Palacios Salaçar, mi hermano, vecino del dicho lugar de Esquibias, cinco aranzadas y media de majuelo, que es el majuelo que llaman de Pedro H[e]rnandes. . . .

'Y asimismo mando al susodicho el majuelo del espino que es a Val de la Fuente, su caber quatro aranzadas, jaen, los quales dichos dos majuelos tienen olivos y estos dichos dos majuelos fueron de el dicho Juan de Palacios, mi tio, y se los mando por cumplir su voluntad que tuvo por su testamento, debajo de cuya dispusicion murió, con la propia carga y obligacion que me los mandó a mi, que son ocho misas rezadas perpetuamente en cada un año para siempre jamas mientras los tuviere cada posehedor.

'Item mando al dicho Francisco de Palacios, mi hermano, el tercio y remanente de quinto que mi madre, Catalina de Palacios, me mandó por su testamento, debajo de cuya dispusicion murió, con la carga que me lo mandó que es una misa voluntaria a Señor San Francisco, the provisions of this will, which appears to have been irregular, and was revoked later. Having signed it,

y el dicho tercio y quinto es la parte de casa que está inclusa en la casa del dicho mi hermano en que de presente vive, y más aranzada y media de majuelo jaen en el majuelo de la Cueva que está incluso con el del dicho mi hermano, y mas otra aranzada y media en el Villar que está inclusa con otra aranzada y media del dicho mi hermano, y mas otro majuelo que llaman el albillo junto a la fuente que dizen de Umbidales y mas una tierra tras cabeça, que ha sido majuelo, su caber quatro aranzadas, . . . y mas un huerto, que está ahora hecho cerca, que llamaban de los perales, junto a la yglesia del dicho lugar, y no tiene toda la dicha hazienda mas carga de la dicha misa, libre de todos censos perpetuo ni al quitar ni otra ninguna hipoteca. . . .

'Item mando al dicho Miguel de Zerbantes Saabedra, mi marido, el majuelo de camino de Seseña su vedueño jaen, que cabe quatro aranzadas poco mas o menos . . . el qual haya y tenga y goze de usufructo durante sus dias y vida con cargo de que diga quatro misas rezadas cada año por mi alma y despues de sus dias le goze por dos años, los primeros, doña Costanza de Obando, sobrina del dicho mi marido, con el mismo cargo de las dichas quatro misas, y pasados los dichos dos años le mando el dicho majuelo al dicho mi hermano Francisco de Palacios con cargo de que haga dezir ó diga ocho misas rezadas cada año por las almas de mis padres y mia y del dicho mi marido, con mas que haya de dar cinquenta reales cada año a mi hermano Fray Antonio de Salazar para libros u para lo que el quisiere, y despues de los dias e vida de los contenidos en esta clausula mando el dicho majuelo a la dicha yglesia del dicho lugar, que es su advocacion Santa María, con cargo que se digan cada año por las almas mias y demas contenidos en esta dicha clausula y mis padres treinta misas rezadas de difuntos perpetuamente para siempre jamas y mas me hagan una fiesta de Señor San Pedro cada año con su misa cantada y otra a Señor San Francisco en sus dias o en sus octavas, y en caso quel dicho Fray Antonio de Salazar, mi hermano, alcanzara de dias a todos los contenidos en esta clausula, es mi voluntad que la dicha yglesia dé cien reales al dicho mi hermano para libros u lo que el quisiere, y despues de los dias del dicho mi hermano la dicha yglesia haya e goze el dicho majuelo con sola la dicha carga de las dichas treinta misas rezadas y las dos fiestas para siempre jamás, y esta clausula se ponga en las tablas e memorias de la dicha yglesia como se acostumbra a hazer.

'Item mando al dicho Miguel de Zerbantes, mi marido, la cama en que yo muriere con la ropa que tuviere con mas todos los demas bienes

Doña Catalina returned to her devout practices, and on June 27, 1610, was fully professed in the Third Order of Saint Francis.[1] Her sister-in-law's health was failing fast. On October 11, Magdalena de Cervantes, being then ill in bed, signed her will, in which she told a strange story respecting a sum of three hundred *ducados* due to her, as she alleged, by

muebles que yo tuviere excepto lo que mando al dicho mi hermano, esto sin que se le pida quenta al dicho mi marido por el mucho amor y buena compañia que ambos hemos tenido.

'Item mando a Maria de Ugena, mi criada, hija de Juan de Ugena y Ana Rodriguez, vecinos de Esquibias, todos los vestidos de seda y otros qualesquiera y el manto que tuviere y camisas el dia que yo muera, y esto la mando por el mucho amor que la tengo por el tiempo que me sirvió siendo niña, y ruegue a Dios por mi alma. . . .

'Item mando al dicho mi marido una tierra de una aranzada, que llaman el Herrador, por sus dias y despues venga al dicho mi hermano Francisco de Palacios, y despues de sus dias la goze la dicha yglesia con la propia carga de la demas hazienda dicha en una clausula de este dicho mi testamento. Y en caso que la dicha yglesia no quiera acebtar lo susodicho, que es majuelo o tierra, es mi voluntad de mandarselo al hospital de pobres del dicho lugar con la dicha carga, y se ponga en la dicha tabla con la otra cláusula.'

The executors named by the testatrix were Cervantes, Francisco de Palacios Salazar, and Doctor Peña, the priest at Esquivias (or whoever might be his successor at the time of Doña Catalina's death).

The will was drawn up by Baltasar de Ugena, who is said (Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, p. 518, n. 2) to have been the uncle of Doña Catalina's maid. According to Sr. Máinez, Doña Catalina had known him at Esquivias, and employed him to draw up her will 'en la seguridad de que así se guardaría el secreto perfectamente'.

[1] See Juan Antonio Pellicer, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* in *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Madrid, 1797–8), vol. I, pp. ccxiii–ccxiv: 'En el espresado libro, en el que se escriben las personas que profesan en dicha V. O. T. en el fol. 6. hay una partida, señalada con el num. 68. en 27. de junio de 1610. que dice:

'D.ª Catalina de Salazar Bozmediano: vive en la calle de Leon, frontero de Castillo, panadero de Corte. = D.ª Catalina de Salazar Bosmediano.' [For 'el espresado libro', see p. 156, n. 1.]

Fernando de Ludeña, a connexion of Lope de Vega's. Her tale was that she had lent the money to Ludeña when he was a bachelor; that she called at his house, after his marriage, to ask for payment; that Ludeña, fearing his wife's anger, denied the debt; that, when she made a second attempt to obtain payment, Ludeña (in the presence of his wife and nephew) terrorized her into signing an admission that he owed her nothing, while he privately assured her that he would keep her supplied with food and, in case he died before her, would leave her enough to live on. On her death-bed Magdalena averred that her signature had been extorted from her, and instructed her executors to collect the three hundred *ducados* from Ludeña, or at least to bring the debt before him as a matter of conscience. If, as some believe, the defaulter was the Fernando de Ludeña who wrote the sonnet prefatory to the *Novelas Exemplares*, and who is praised in the *Viage del Parnaso*, Cervantes clearly declined to make his sister's quarrels his own.

Doña Catalina, in her will, had made a small bequest to Cervantes's niece Costanza, but made no mention of his daughter, Isabel de Saavedra. Magdalena likewise made over to Costanza an allowance which she received from Enrique de Palafox, a knight of the Order of Calatrava; to Costanza she also left her share of what might come to her from the estate of her brother Rodrigo. She appointed her brother and Costanza as executors, but passed by her niece Isabel in silence.[1] The coinci-

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[1] The more important clauses of Magdalena's will (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 285–9) may be quoted here:

'In Dey nomine amen. Sepan quantos esta carta de testamento vieren como yo Doña Madalena de Sotomayor, . . . estando enferma en la cama de la dolencia y enfermedad que Nuestro Señor ha sido servido de me dar, en mi sano juyzio y entendimiento natural . . . Otorgo y conosco por esta carta que hago y ordeno este mi testamento en la forma y de la manera siguiente: . . .

'Item mando que mi cuerpo sea sepultado en la yglesia o monesterio que pareciere a mi hermano Miguel de Çerbantes, y alli me mande enterrar, y por ello se pague lo acostumbrado. . . .

'Item declaro que don Fernando de Ludeña me debe trecientos ducados prestados siendo mozo soltero, y despues de casado con Doña Ana Maria de Hurbina, su muger, yo los fuy a pedir delante de la dicha Doña Ana, y por entonces, por no henojar a la dicha su muger diciendo los debia, no me los confesó deber, y despues habiendo ydo allá a su casa otra vez en razon del dicho debito en presencia de la dicha Doña Ana Maria y de un sobrino suyo, diziendo que si no queria yo hazer una zedula, que me pedia, en que yo confesase que no me debia nada, el dicho Don Fernando de Ludeña me ameo [¿amenazó ?] muchas veces diciendo que no me daria nada en su vida si no hazía la dicha zedula, y a solas me dixo que me prometia mientras él viviese de darme todos mis alimentos, y que si yo le alcanzaba de vida, me dexaria con qué viviese, y debaxo de la dicha promesa le hice zedula en que declaré no deberme nada, la qual hice contra mi voluntad, y asi declaro debajo de mi conciencia quedarme a deber los dichos trecientos ducados. Mando que mis testamentarios los cobren, a lo menos se lo digan y le encarguen la conciencia, pues sabe ser verdad, y asi lo mando.

'Item mando á Doña Costança de Figueroa, mi sobrina, hija de Doña Andrea de Çerbantes, mi hermana difunta, la parte de hacienda de tres herederos que somos a la hacienda de Rodrigo de Çerbantes, mi hermano, que le mataron en Flandes en la jornada de dos de Jullio del año de seyscientos y uno, porque ruegue a Dios por mi.

'Item mando asimismo a la dicha Doña Costança sesenta y quatro ducados de dos panyaguas que me dio Don Enrique de Palafoj, caballero del habito de Calatrava, que los ha de haber en virtud de la merced de Su Magestad del pan y agua que se da a los dichos caballeros, para que en mi lugar la dicha Doña Costança los haya, de que me tiene dado poder el dicho Don Enrique.'

Pérez Pastor identifies (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 431) this Fernando de dence is curious, and can scarcely be accidental. It would seem that Isabel de Saavedra was no longer on friendly terms with her relatives, and this impression is strengthened by the fact that, on the day Magdalena made her will, Cervantes by a separate deed conveyed to his niece Costanza his prospective share in Rodrigo's estate.[1] He had nothing else to leave, and his daughter would seem

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Ludeña with the writer of the sonnet at the beginning of the *Novelas Exemplares*; Sr. Cotarelo y Mori dissents from this opinion (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 239).

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 290-1: 'Sepan quantos esta carta de poder vieren como el alferez Miguel de Çerbantes, hijo de Rodrigo de Çerbantes e de Doña Leonor de Cortinas, su muger, residente en esta corte, otorgo y conosco por esta carta que doy mi poder cumplido, qual de derecho se requiere, a Doña Costança de Figueroa, mi sobrina, hija de Doña Maria de Çerbantes, mi hermana, para que para ella misma, como en su fecho y causa propia pueda recibir, haber e cobrar toda la parte que me toca de la herencia de los bienes y sueldo del alferez Rodrigo de Çerbantes, mi hermano, que le mataron en servicio de Su Magestad en la jornada de las Dunas en el año pasado de seyscientos y uno en los Estados de Flandes, el qual sueldo, que se le debia y debe, está mandado pagar por çedula real de Su Magestad, y para ello le cedo mis derechos y aciones y la hago procuradora, autora, para que ella haga de ello su voluntad como cosa suya propia por el mucho amor y voluntad que la tengo, y digo y declaro de no revocar este poder y manda agora ni en ningun tiempo, y si paresciere haberlo revocado, desde luego lo doy por nenguno. . . . Y lo otorgué ansi ante el presente escribano y testigos. Que fue fecha e otorgada en la villa de Madrid a honze dias del mes de Otubre de mil y seyscientos y diez años, siendo testigos Lorenzo Cruzado y Juan de Berjes e Juan Mendez, estantes en corte, y el otorgante, que doy fee conozco, lo firmó.—Miguel de Cerbantes.—Ante mi Geronimo Lopez.—Llevé un real y no más.—Lopez.'

This deed, hastily drawn up, confirms the impression that Cervantes was in the habit of signing documents without reading them very carefully. It will be observed that he is described as an 'alferez', and that his sister's name is given as 'Maria' instead of Andrea.

to have had the first claim on him. Yet he deliberately passed her over, as his wife and his sister had done before him. What had happened? Did Cervantes mean to show his displeasure, or did he think that his daughter was sufficiently provided for under her marriage settlement? The latter alternative does not recommend itself in view of the antecedent circumstances.

Some seven months before he signed the deed in favour of Costanza, Cervantes had reason to feel misgivings as to his daughter's marriage settlement. Even at that early date questions had arisen concerning the ownership of the house in the Red de San Luis, and, if we may trust the fragmentary documents brought forward, Cervantes had committed himself to statements which, though perhaps not absolutely untrue, were calculated to leave a wrong impression. On March 27, 1610, he appears to have alleged that the house in the Red de San Luis belonged to him, and had been bought with his money.[1] If he went through the form of buying it, he can only have bought it with money lent to him for the purpose by Urbina, to whom he reconveyed the house by a secret deed.[2] Whatever passed between him and Urbina, it is practically certain that his proprietorship of the house was purely nominal—a legal fiction adopted *por algunos respetos*. Such was his position on March 27, 1610, by which date some misunderstanding as to the ownership had arisen between Urbina on the one side, and Molina and his wife on the other. Urbina was apparently willing that they should occupy his house rent free ; he was not willing to make it over to them as a gift. The misunderstanding was likely to become worse ; if so, Cervantes's difficulties would also become worse. Irritated by the cupidity of Molina and his wife, Urbina might well decline to pay the two thousand *ducados* on account of Isabel de Saavedra's dowry, which fell due in the following year. By this time Cervantes knew enough of his daughter and his son-in-law to feel sure that they would press to the uttermost their legal claim. It was impossible for Cervantes to raise so large a sum as two thousand *ducados*, and yet he had made himself jointly responsible for its punctual payment on or before August 28 of the following year. What was to be done? In his perplexity, Cervantes seems to have thought of leaving Spain, if he could contrive it.

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[1] See the third document printed by Julio de Sigüenza in *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (8 de Mayo de 1882), año XXVI, núm. XVII, p. 287; it is reproduced on p. 152, n. 1.

[2] See the fifth document printed by Julio de Sigüenza (*loc. cit.*), and reproduced on p. 152, n. 2.

In 1610 there appeared his sonnet on Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a famous patron of literature in the previous century.[1] A patron at this moment would be the saving of Cervantes, and, as it happened, he had been presented to Pedro Fernandez Ruiz de

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[1] *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863-4), vol. VIII, p. 431. The sonnet, with poems by Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, Mira de Amescua, and others, appeared in *Obras del insigne cavallero Don Diego de Mendoza*, &c. (Madrid, 1610).

Castro y Osorio, the seventh Conde de Lemos, nephew and son-in-law of the Duque de Lerma, the favourite minister of Philip III. Lemos, who had once employed Lope de Vega as his private secretary,[1] had a foible for literature, and often lent a helping hand to authors in distress. In the early summer of 1610 his father-in-law's influence secured his appointment to the viceroyalty of Naples, and it became known that he intended to take with him several literary men as members of his suite. It would appear that Cervantes hoped to be one of the chosen few. He was no doubt too reasonable to believe that he could make a fresh start in Italy at the age of sixty-two; but his removal from Madrid would extricate him from his embarrassing position. His high hopes, however, were disappointed. Lemos did not invite him to join his household; fair words appear to have been spoken; but Cervantes needed something more substantial than promises, and his failure mortified him deeply.[2]

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[1] Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera, *Nueva Biografía* in *Obras de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1890–1902), vol. I, pp. 70–1. Lope de Vega became secretary to Lemos in 1598. Barrera, dryly remarking that the famous dramatist's duties were of a varied kind, and perhaps a little humbler than those commonly associated with the post of secretary, quotes a phrase from a letter of Lope's to Lemos: 'Ya sabéis cuánto os amo y reverencio, y que he dormido á vuestros pies como un perro.'

Lemos himself wrote a play which has disappeared. A few of his poetical compositions have, however, survived. Sr. D. Antonio Paz y Melia has published (*Bulletin hispanique*, Bordeaux, 1903, vol. V, pp. 249–58 and 349–58) a *glosa* by Lemos included in the *Correspondencia del Conde de Lemos con Don Francisco de Castro, su hermano, y con el Príncipe de Esquilache* (1613–20).

[2] See the *Viage del Parnaso*, cap. iii, 163-204.

Góngora was also one of the disappointed aspirants; he good-

He was doomed to stay on at Madrid in discouraging circumstances. To meet his engagements he required money more than ever; his capacity for earning money by doing non-literary work diminished as he grew older; his books brought him fame, but nothing more solid. The patron in whom he rashly put his trust had failed him at a critical moment. He knew that his daughter was a grasping woman, married without affection to a needy and indelicate man. His wife—and this he did not know, though he may have guessed it—had furtively made a will leaving most of her small property away from him. He had lost one sister, and was now about to lose another. On October 14, 1610, Magdalena de Cervantes, availing herself of her right as a Tertiary, added a codicil to her will, directing that she was to be buried in the neighbouring Franciscan convent in a spot chosen

humouredly records his check in a burlesque sonnet (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Madrid, 1872, vol. XXXII, p. 437):

  El Conde mi señor se va á Nápoles,
Y el Duque mi señor se va á Francia;
Príncipes, buen viaje, que este dia
Pesadumbre daré á unos caracoles.
  Como sobran tan doctos españoles,
A ninguno ofrecí la musa mia;
A un pobre albergue sí de Andalucía,
Que ha resistido á grandes, digo á soles.
  Con pocos libros libres, libres digo
De expurgaciones, paso, y me paseo,
Ya que el tiempo me pasa como higo.
  No espero en mi verdad lo que no creo;
Espero en mi conciencia lo que digo,
Mi salvacion, que es lo que mas deseo.

by Cervantes.[1] This would, at least, save him expense. She died three months later (January 28, 1611), the cost of her modest funeral, twelve *reales*, being paid by her Franciscan brethren.[2]

Magdalena de Cervantes died precisely seven months before her niece's dowry became payable. So far nothing had been done in the way of preparing to meet the obligation. Shortly after Magdalena's death it occurred to Urbina to employ Isabel de Saavedra's husband on business at a distance from Madrid, and on February 26 he empowered Molina to make arrangements respecting one of his recent enterprises, some iron-works situated in the neighbourhood of Cañizares.[3] He can scarcely have imagined that this errand would occupy Molina for over seven months, and keep him out of the way when the time for paying the dowry came. If Urbina hoped to contrive this, or if he thought to cajole the married couple by putting business in the husband's way, he was disappointed. The pair with whom he had to deal were not simpletons in money matters. Molina dispatched his business at Cañizares, and returned to Madrid. August 28 came, but he received no money. We may take it that

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 292–3: ‘En la villa de Madrid a catorce dias del mes de Otubre de mil y seiscientos e diez años, ante mi el escribano e testigos, paresció Doña Madalena de Sotomayor, estando en su buen entendimiento natural, dixo que por quanto ella otorgó su testamento y ultima voluntad ante mi el presente escribano, y entre otras cosas que en él mandó fue mandar que su cuerpo fuese sepultado en la yglesia o monesterio que paresciere a su hermano Miguel de Çerbantes, agora es su voluntad de mandar, como manda, que su cuerpo sea sepultado en el monesterio de Señor Sant Francisco desta villa en la parte que paresciere al dicho Miguel de Çerbantes, y en todo lo demas de la dicha manda lo revoca.

‘Y todo lo demas del dicho su testamento lo dexa en su fuerça y vigor, y ansi lo dijo y otorgó, siendo testigos,' &c.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 430, n. 1: ‘En 28 de hen.^{o} de 1611 as^{o} murio D.^{a} Magdalena de Jesus, hermana de zeruãtes. Rbio los s.^{tos} sacram.^{tos} de mano del lic.^{do} fran^{co} Lopez no testó era natural de aquí y era pobre, y tanto q.^{e} la hizieron enterrar los herm^{nos} terceros de S. Fran.^{co} en 12 r.^{s}'

This document, discovered by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, was first printed (with some slight variants) in the *Suplemento á la Crónica de los Cervantistas* (Cádiz, 23 de Abril de 1872), vol. I, p. 105.

[3] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 294–6: ‘Sepan

quantos esta carta de poder vieren como yo Jhoan de Urbina . . . otorgo y conozco por esta presente carta, que doy mi poder cumplido, quan bastante de derecho se requiere y es necesario, a Luis de Molina . . . con facultad de enjuiziar, jurar y sustituir en un procurador dos o mas y los revocar e poner otros para que por quanto tengo tratado de tomar en arrendamiento una herreria del Sr. Don Juan Garces Muñoz, . . . que está situada junto a la villa de Cañizares, sierra de Cuenca . . . e para lo tratar y efetuar tengo dado poder al Licenciado Pedro Carnerero, cura propio de la villa de Cañizares, y a Francisco Castillo . . . y sin los revocar el dicho poder se lo doy al dicho Luis de Molina para que juntamente con los dichos Licenciado Pedro Carnerero y Francisco Castillo por si *in solidum* pueda convenirse con el dicho Don Juan Garces o quien su poder hobiere en tomarle en arrendamiento la dicha herreria para mi por el tiempo, precio y a pagar a los tiempos e plazas y en la parte y lugar y con las condiciones, clausulas, penas e posturas y con el salario que bien visto le fuere. . . .

'Y otrosi le doy este poder al dicho Luis de Molina para que pueda poner e nombrar mayordomo e persona que en mi nombre administre y tenga quenta e razon de la dicha herreria, e darle poder para ello y señalarle salario y obligarme a la paga y tomarle quenta quando y como convenga en forma bastante.

'Otrosi para que con qualquier persona o personas pueda concertar y concierte la mena y carbon necesario para beneficio de la dicha fabrica de hierro y obligarme a la paga al dia, tiempo e plazo que le paresciere con las condiciones y posturas que le pareciere. En razon de lo qual y de cada cosa e parte pueda en mi nombre ante escribano o escribanos hacer y otorgar la escritura o escrituras de contratacion y obligacion y las demas necesarias y que convengan y le pareciere. . . .'

Cervantes would have paid but could not, and that Urbina could have paid but would not. Urbina had mistaken his man; his creditor was not to be trifled with. Molina applied for an execution-warrant against both defaulters,[1] astutely lending an air of respectability to the marriage-contract by representing Cervantes as the principal debtor and Urbina as his surety. Molina's legal claim was incontestable; his application was granted as a matter of course, and, since Cervantes had no assets, a distraint was levied on Urbina's belongings. Within twenty-four hours Urbina yielded, paid nineteen thousand of the twenty-two thousand *reales* due, and on November 29, 1611, bound himself to pay the balance within three months.[2] It is doubtful if he was ever called upon

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[1] The exact dates of Molina's application and of the order of the Court are not known; but, from the document quoted in the next note, both must be fixed before November 29. Pérez Pastor (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 337) states that Molina filed his petition before the Alcalde Don Fernando Ramirez Fariñas (and Juan del Campillo, *escribano de provincia*) on September 17, 1611.

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 164-8. Molina begins by putting in his receipt for what he had already received—'catorze mill setecientos y cinquenta y tres reales en joyas de oro y plata, vestidos, ropa blanca y otros bienes muebles'—and continues as follows:

'Y ansi mesmo por bienes de la dicha doña Isabel de Saabedra, mi esposa, demas y aliende de lo contenido en la dicha escriptura me fueron prometidos por el dicho Miguel de Zerbantes, su padre, dos mill ducados pagados en fin de tres años, y dello el dicho Miguel de Zerbantes, como principal, y Joan de Urbina, como su fiador y principal cumplidor y pagador, e cada uno *in solidum* y dello como bienes dotales de la dicha mi esposa hizieron y otorgaron en mi favor escriptura de obligacion para me los pagar en fin de los dichos tres años, que pasó en esta villa de Madrid a veynte y ocho dias del mes de Agosto del dicho año de mill y seiscientos y ocho por ante Luis de for the remaining three thousand *reales*: Isabel de Saavedra, perhaps content with so substantial an

Velasco, escribano de su magestad, a que me refiero, y por haberse cumplido el plazo de la dicha escriptura y no haberme pagado, yo presenté la dicha escriptura ante el señor alcalde don Fernando Ramirez Fariñas y Joan del Campillo, escribano de provincia, y en virtud della pedi execucion contra las personas y bienes de los dichos Miguel de Zerbantes, prencipal, y secretario Joan de Urbina, su fiador, y cada uno y qualquier dellos por los dichos dos mill ducados, y se me mandó dar y dió mandamiento de execucion, y en virtud del fué fecha y trabada execucion por ellos en la persona y bienes del dicho secretario Joan de Urbina, el qual a quenta dellos, dentro de las veynte e quatro horas de como le fué fecha la dicha execucion, me dió e pagó diez y nueve mill reales, de los quales le di y otorgué carta de pago al dicho secretario Joan de Urbina, y por los tres mill reales restantes yo suspendí la dicha execucion, por lo qual es a mi quenta y cargo cobrarlos, y agora la dicha doña Isabel de Saabedra, mi muger, me pide le dé y otorgue carta de pago y recibo de dote de los dichos dos mill ducados juntamente con los catorze mill setecientos y cinquenta y tres reales que antes de agora habia recebido. . . . E yo viendo ser justo y que de derecho a ello estoy obligado = Otorgo y conozco por esta presente carta yo el dicho Luis de Molina que he recebido por bienes dotales de la dicha doña Isabel de Saabedra, mi muger, los dichos treinta y seis mil setecientos y cinquenta y tres reales en esta manera: los catorze mill setecientos cinquenta y tres reales dellos en vestidos, joyas de oro y plata, ropa blanca y ajuar de casa . . . y los veinte y dos mill reales restantes de la dicha escriptura de obligacion que por la dicha razon otorgaron en mi favor los dichos Miguel de Cerbantes, principal, y secretario Juan de Urbina, su fiador, los diez e nueve mill reales dellos que cobré del dicho secretario Juan de Urbina, de que le di carta de pago dentro de las veinte y quatro horas de como fué executado, y los tres mill reales restantes de que le di espera y aguardo por tres meses, y por haberla dado queda por mi quenta y cargo en cobrarlos . . . e me obligo de tener y que tendré los dichos treinta y seis mill setecientos y cinquenta y tres reales de la dicha dote en pie y seguros e que la hazienda que en ellos montare no la venderé, trocaré ni cambiaré ni obligaré tacita ni expresamente a ninguna deuda ni accion cevil ni creminal, y si lo hiziere que no vaya ni le pare perjuicio, y cada y quando que el matrimonio entre mi y la dicha mi muger fuere disuelto y separado, ora por muerte o divorzio o en otra qualquier manera que sea, luego que lo tal succeda le daré,

instalment in ready money, seems to have intervened as a peacemaker. But no lasting peace was possible between the parties. Another difficulty soon arose. Cervantes and Urbina had further promised to pay all charges—rates and ground-rent—on the house in the Red de San Luis. It would seem that these charges were not paid, that legal proceedings followed, that the Court ruled in Molina's favour, and that on October 30, 1612, Urbina capitulated once more.[1] Molina and his wife thus obtained their legal due. Still they were not satisfied, and in course of time went so far as to claim the house in the Red de San Luis as their absolute property. This was more than Urbina could endure, and there followed an interminable series of lawsuits which lasted longer than the lives of most of those concerned in them. But we need not anticipate the course of events.

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pagaré, volveré y restituiré a ella o a quien su poder tuviere los dichos treinta y seis mill setecientos y cinquenta y tres reales desta dicha dote y por ellos sin aguardar que pase término alguno, porque aunque le tenga lo renuncio. . . .'

[1] See the third document printed by Julio de Sigüenza in *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (8 de Mayo de 1882), vol. XXVI, núm. XVII, p. 287: 'Sobre cumplir las dichas Capp.^{nes} se trató pleito entre los S. S. con el A. — y por sent.^{a} de alld. y del Con.^{o} fué conden.^{do} á otorgar scrip.^{a} conf.^{e} á la dicha capitu.^{on} inserta la dicha clau.^{a} y paso el pleito ante Campillos de prov.^{a} año 612.

'en 30 otu.^{e} el Sr. Ju.^{a} de urbina otorgo la dicha scrip.^{a} p.^{a} insertar la dicha clau.^{a} y sen.^{as}'

The Campillos mentioned here is apparently identical with the Juan del Campillo named on p. 171, n. 1. He appears to have been an *escribano de número* at Madrid from 1581 to 1595, and later an *escribano de provincia* (Pérez Pastor, *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 337).

XI

Nobody likes to be threatened with a distraint, and it seems probable that henceforward Cervantes saw little of his daughter and his son-in-law. After Cervantes's death, his widow appears to have been on good terms with Molina and his wife[1]; but it is noticeable that Cervantes's name is never linked with theirs after the proceedings of 1611.[2] A glimpse of Cervantes's relations with his wife, and with the members of his wife's family, is afforded by a deed dated January 31, 1612.[3] Hereby

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[1] This is inferred from the fact that Doña Catalina finally appointed Luis de Molina as her executor.

[2] It must be remembered, however, that there was prolonged litigation between Urbina and Molina from 1612 to 1615, and it is quite possible that Cervantes appears in the documents relating to these suits. Pérez Pastor (*Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 338) suggests that these documents may yet be discovered in the archives of the extinct Consejo de Castilla.

[3] Pérez Pastor, *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 169-77. The most important parts of this long deed are as follows: 'Sepan quantos esta publica escritura de dejación y traspaso, vieren, como yo, doña Catalina de Palacios y Salazar, muger que soy de Miguel de Zeruantes, vecinos del lugar de Esquibias, jurisdicion de la ciudad de Toledo, estantes de presente en esta corte, en presencia del dicho Miguel de Zeruantes, mi marido, y con su licencia y consentimiento. . . . Digo que por quanto Catalina de Palacios, mi señora e madre, difunta, que haya gloria, viuda, muger que fué de Hernando de Salazar Vozmediano, por su testamento e ultima voluntad con que falleció, que pasó e se otorgó ante Alonso de Aguilera . . . su fecha en el diez e siete de Noviembre del año pasado de mil y quinientos y ochenta y siete, me nombró e dejó por su hija y heredera, juntamente con Francisco de Palacios y Fernando de Salaçar, mis hermanos, para que sucediesemos y heredasemos sus bienes, haziendome dellos mejora en el tercio e remanente del quinto segun consta del dicho testamento, y por muerte de la dicha mi madre, entre mi y el dicho Francisco de Palacios, mi hermano, ante la justicia del dicho lugar . . . en veynte e un dias del mes de Jullio del año

Doña Catalina annulled the clauses in her will (June 10, 1610) which gave her husband a life-

pasado de mill y seiscientos e quatro, se hizo particion e division de los bienes e hazienda que quedaron por fin y muerte de la dicha Catalina de Palacios, mi madre, e por ella se me adjudicaron los bienes que adelante se dirá por quenta de la dicha mejora . . . Todos los quales dichos bienes me fueron adjudicados por la dicha particion segun consta de la hijuela della, que montan setenta y ocho mil ochocientos setenta y nueve maravedis. Y es ansi que la dicha mi madre al tiempo que fallesció quedó debiendo ansi por si como por el dicho mi padre cinco mil y novecientos y setenta y cinco reales, que valen ducientos y dos mil y ochocientos e diez maravedis. . . .

'Para las dichas deudas se sacaron del cuerpo de la hazienda las dichas casas de Toledo y una tierra de la hazienda de las dichas casas de Toledo y una tierra con unas olivas en el termino del dicho lugar de Esquibias al paso que dicen el Apartado, que el dicho Francisco de Palacios lo vendió en dos mil y quarenta e un reales, a saber: las dichas casas en mil y cien reales y la dicha tierra en treinta y dos mil maravedis, que valen los dichos dos mil y quarenta y un reales sesenta e nueve mil trescientos noventa y quatro maravedis, que sacados de los dichos cinco mil y novecientos sesenta y cinco reales de deudas, quedaron las dichas deudas en ser en tres mil y novecientos y veinte y quatro reales, de los quales me tocan de pagar por el dicho tercio e quinto mil y ochocientos y treinta y un reales, que valen sesenta y dos mil ducientos y cinquenta y quatro maravedis, que sacados de los dichos setenta y ocho mil ochocientos setenta y nueve maravedis, que montan los bienes de dicha mejora, me quedan diez y seis mil seiscientos veinte y cinco maravedis, los quales sacados de los seis mil y quarenta y seis reales y medio que me tocan de la mitad de deudas de las de arriba referidas, como uno de dos herederos, debo finalmente al dicho Francisco de Palacios, mi hermano, que está pagado y satisfecho, diez y ocho mil novecientos e cinquenta e seis maravedis en dineros de contado, y quedando por suyos y como suyos los dichos bienes de suso referidos que me fueron adjudicados por quenta del dicho tercio e quinto.

'Y aunque estos, conforme a la clausula del testamento de la dicha mi madre por donde me hace la dicha mejora, prohibe la enagenacion y venta dellos, pero esto fué por dos respetos, el uno para que no se pudiese valer de ellos el dicho mi marido, y el otro, en caso que no tuviese yo hijos, atendiendo a que los bienes de la dicha mejora viniesen en el dicho Francisco de Palacios, mi hermano, pero teniendo interest in two small pieces of land at Esquivias: she mortgaged these to her brother, Francisco de

hijos pudiese disponer de ellos y hazer a mi voluntad, como lo dice por palabras expresas la dicha clausula = Y porque yo no tengo hijos hasta ahora que hayan de suceder y heredar mis bienes, y que de los dichos bienes de suso referidos a mi no me pertenece mas del usufruto y utre dominio de ellos por los dias de mi vida, y que el dicho Francisco de Palacios, mi hermano, ha pagado y desembolsado de su propia hazienda los dichos cinco mil y novecientos y sesenta e cinco reales de las dichas deudas, que conforme a la quenta arriba dicha, sacado el valor en que los dichos bienes fueron tasados e se me adjudicaron, el resto se quedó y le soy deudora de ellos realmente y con efeto, y que habiendo deudas son preferidas a las mejoras y herencia, y han de ser primeramente pagadas.

'Atento lo qual y que yo le era deudora de las dichas cantidades arriba dichas, que me tocan de las dichas deudas que forzosamente habia de ser apremiada a la paga de ellos u dejar los dichos bienes, y el dicho mi hermano ha cumplido con las dichas deudas por no ver enagenados los dichos bienes ni pasados en otro poseedor, y porque lo que ansi ha pagado por mi quenta y a mi perteneciente vale mucho mas que lo que a mi me habian de valer el usufructo y aprovechamiento de los dichos bienes durante mis dias, no teniendo como no tengo hijos, como dicho es, en consideracion de todo lo susodicho y teniendolo por bueno, cierto y verdadero, en la mejor forma que puedo y ha lugar de derecho de mi buena y libre voluntad mediante la dicha licencia del dicho mi marido, otorgo y conozco que hago dexacion, renunciacion e traspaso en el dicho Francisco de Palacios, mi hermano, que está presente y acetante, de todos los dichos bienes de la dicha mejora, que son la dicha parte de casa, majuelos, tierras y huertos de suso declarado e deslindado, para que sea propio del dicho Francisco de Palacios en usufructo y en propiedad para ahora e para siempre jamas. . . .

'Y para en cumplimiento de lo en ella contenido y de la paga de los dichos diez y ocho mil novecientos e cinquenta y seis maravedis que ansi soy alcanzada y debo al dicho mi hermano sobre el valor de los dichos bienes, obligo mi persona y bienes, habidos y por haber, y esto no derogando, obligo y hipoteco por especial y expresa obligacion e hipotecas un majuelo que yo tengo al camino de Saseña de quatro aranzadas, linde el dicho camino y tierra de Santaren, para que esté obligado e hipotecado a la paga y cumplimiento de lo que dicho es para no lo poder vender ni enagenar si no es con la

Palacios Salazar, to whom she also transferred the additional share of property inherited under her mother's will. This was done in consideration of Francisco's paying off certain long outstanding debts on the family estate. The new arrangement, to which Cervantes assented, was unobjectionable; for, as Doña Catalina put it, debts take precedence of legacies, and she herself was unable to pay her parents' debts, which exceeded in amount the value of the property now made over to her brother. The practical effect of the change was to deprive Cervantes of whatever advantage he might have received under his wife's will; but the advantage was small, and the possibility of his living long enough to profit by it was smaller. In this case renunciation was both right and easy. An interesting item in the deed is one which acquaints us with the purport of a clause in the will of Doña Catalina's mother, Catalina de Palacios. The clause in question forbade the alienation of the property bequeathed to Cervantes's wife as her preferential share. Under it, therefore, Doña Catalina's bequests to her husband in the first place, and to her brother in the second, were both illegal. But the illegality was circumvented by Doña Catalina's tactful statement that the clause was expressly inserted with a view (1) to keeping the Esquivias property out of Cervantes's hands, and (2) to securing its re-

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carga desta dicha hipoteca, y lo que de otra manera se hiziere no valga. . . .'

version to Francisco de Palacios Salazar in the event of Doña Catalina's having no children. We may take it, then, that when Catalina de Palacios made her will on November 17, 1587, she had no great esteem for her son-in-law Cervantes; and we may further take it that, as she did not alter her will, her opinion had not changed during the subsequent sixteen or seventeen years of her life. The case which she foresaw had now arisen. Doña Catalina was childless, and, with Cervantes's consent, the property passed intact to Doña Catalina's brother. The evidence goes to show that Cervantes had married into a most united family. This has its advantages, but the members of the family do not seem to have taken very kindly to him.

It is thought that he and his wife had been staying at Esquivias shortly before the deed of January 31, 1612, was signed at Madrid.[1] This may, or may not, be so; they seem to have moved about a good deal; but their home, such as it was, was in Madrid. We learn at first-hand that Cervantes was present at a disorderly meeting of the newly-founded Academia Selvaje on March 2, 1612, when (as so often happens) two learned persons came to blows, and when Cervantes lent his cheap spectacles to Lope de Vega, who compared them to badly poached eggs.[1] Common as they were, these glasses served their purpose by helping Cervantes to write some of his *Novelas exemplares*, a collection which was submitted to Gutierre Cetina not later than July 2, 1612. Precisely a year later (July 2, 1613) Cervantes seems to have received the habit of the Franciscan Tertiaries at Alcalá de Henares.[2] In 1613 also there appeared his sonnet to Diego Rosel y Fuenllana,[3] as well as the verses to Gabriel Perez del Barrio Angulo,[4] and to this same year is conjecturally assigned the ode to the Conde de Saldaña, a composition of doubtful authenticity.[1] The official *Aprobacion* for the *Novelas exemplares* had been signed by Gutierre Cetina on July 9, 1612; a supplementary *Aprobacion* had been secured on August 8; the *Privilegio* for Castile had been granted on November 22. But there was a long delay in obtaining the *Privilegio* for Aragon, and this was not issued finally till August 9, 1613.[2] Meanwhile Cervantes would seem to have heard that the term of waiting was drawing to an end, and on July 14, 1613, he penned his dedication to the Conde de Lemos, whom he salutes as his benefactor. Henceforward we may consider him as a pensioner of Lemos's. On September 9, 1613, he disposed of his rights in the *Novelas exemplares* to his publisher Robles, for 1,600 *reales* and twenty-four copies of the volume.[3] No timely legacies came his way.[4] His niece Costanza was luckier,

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[1] This view, held by Sr. Cotarelo y Mori (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 246), is based on the description of Cervantes and his wife in the deed of January 30, 1612, as 'vecinos del lugar de Esquibias' and as 'estantes de presente en esta corte' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 169). Pérez Pastor, assuming that there was some relationship between Doña Catalina and some of the *mayordomos de la cofradía del Santísimo* (Juan Quixada Salazar and Gabriel Quixada Salazar) at Esquivias, suggests (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 316) that some plays or *entremeses* by Cervantes may have been given there.

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[1] Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera, *Nueva Biografía* in *Obras de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1890–1902), vol. I, p. 183. Barrera quotes from a letter of Lope de Vega's, dated March 2, 1612: 'Las academias están furiosas; en la pasada se tiraron los bonetes dos Licenciados; yo leí unos versos con unos antojos de Cervantes, que parecían huevos estrellados mal hechos.'

The Academia Selvaje, known first of all as *El Parnaso*, changed its name in honour of Francisco de Silva y Mendoza, at whose house in the Calle de Atocha the association held its meetings. Silva was a brother of the Duque de Pastrana (see pp. 122 and 128, n. 2).

[2] Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 191, 480, and 579. The information was derived from a document existing in the Madrid archives of the Tertiaries before Navarrete's time; it was impossible for him to verify the fact by research at Alcalá de Henares, as the local records of the Tertiaries for the years previous to 1670 had disappeared.

[3] A soldier who wrote *Parte Primera De varias aplicaçiones, y Transformaciones, las quales tractan, Terminos Cortesanos, Practica Militar, Casos de Estado, en prosa y verso con nueuos Hieroglificos, y algunos puntos morales* (Naples, 1613). The volume is somewhat rare: the sonnet is reprinted in *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, pp. 447–8.

[4] The verses to Perez del Barrio Angulo appeared in the latter's *Direccion de Secretarios de Señores, y las materias, cuydados, y obligaciones que les tocan, con las virtudes de que se han de preciar, estilo, y orden del*

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despacho y expediente, manejo de papeles de ministros, formularios de cartas, prouisiones de oficios, y vn compendio en razon de acrecentar estado, y hazienda, oficio de Contador, y otras curiosidades que se declaran en la primera hoja (Madrid, 1613). The lines are reprinted in *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1864), vol. VIII, pp. 429-30.

[1] *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863-4), vol. VIII, pp. 444-7.

[2] For bibliographical and other points relating to the *Novelas exemplares*, see the present writer's Introduction to *The Complete Works of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Glasgow, 1902), vol. VII.

[3] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 178-82. On September 28, 1613, Robles signed a power of attorney authorizing his representatives, Melchor Gonzalez and Francisco Geraldo, to prosecute all infringers of his copyright in the province of Aragón: see Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 183-5.

[4] If Cervantes's relations with his daughter had been good at this

for on January 14, 1614, she signed a receipt for a thousand *reales* sent to her from Trujillo in Peru by a certain Juan de Avendaño[1]; of Avendaño and his reason for sending this money, we know nothing.

Cervantes depended on what he could earn by his pen, and what he received from Lemos. He was compelled to write continuously. It would appear from his own statement that he had finished the *Viage del Parnaso* before he wrote the Prologue to the *Novelas exemplares.*[2] No doubt this assertion is correct, but it can refer solely to the verses, for Apollo's supplementary prose letter was despatched from Parnassus, so we learn, on July 22, 1614, as the god was buckling on his spurs and making ready to mount the Dog-star. The *Viage*

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time he might have been drawn into some responsibility for Geronima de Rojas y Prado and Maria de Rojas y Prado, aged nineteen and eighteen respectively. They were the daughters of Luisa de Rojas, and therefore nieces of Cervantes's former mistress Ana Franca de Rojas, and cousins of Isabel de Saavedra. Their father, a barber named Francisco Sanchez de Prado, had died at Guatemala some time before November 22, 1613, when his daughters were placed under the tutelage of Luis de Molina, for whom Isabel de Saavedra stood as surety. The documents referring to the wardship are printed by Pérez Pastor (*Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 186–93), who remarks (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 310) that the arrangement resembled that made in Isabel's own case when she was placed under the charge of her aunt Magdalena.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 194-5.

[2] In the *Prologo* to the *Novelas exemplares* (1613) Cervantes speaks of the *Viage del Parnaso* as belonging to the past, like the *Galatea* and the First Part of *Don Quixote*: 'este digo que es el rostro del Autor de la Galatea, y de don Quixote de la Mancha, y del que hizo el viage del Parnaso. . . .'

del Parnaso passed the censor on September 16, and was issued towards the end of November or the beginning of December. The fact that the book was dedicated to Rodrigo de Tapia—a lad of fifteen, but the son of a Minister of State—might suggest the idea that the author was in search of a patron nearer to hand than Naples. The probability, however, is that the dedication of the *Viage del Parnaso* to young Tapia had been offered and accepted before the *Novelas exemplares* were finished, or before Lemos had come to Cervantes's aid, and had received in return the dedication of the *Novelas exemplares.* It was then too late for Cervantes to cancel his promise to the Tapias. The most he could do was to keep them waiting while he brought out his more important work and dedicated it to Lemos. This done, he kept his pledge to the Tapias. He gained little by his complaisance. Rodrigo de Tapia may have taken some interest in literature, for some six years later Lope de Vega thought it worth while to dedicate a play to him ; but Rodrigo was a minor, and both he and his father, Pedro de Tapia, were reputed to be as niggardly as they were wealthy. The father may have helped to pay Francisca de Medina, widow of Alonso Martin, for setting up the book in type ; but if the Tapias paid the printer's bill, they did no more, and henceforward Cervantes was faithful to his patron Lemos.

XII

While the *Viage del Parnaso* was lying by him Cervantes was working at the Second Part of *Don Quixote.* He would seem to have reached the thirty-sixth chapter two days before he wrote Apollo's letter, for Sancho Panza's letter to his wife is dated July 20, 1614.[1] He kept to his task, interrupting its course to compose the song in honour of the Blessed Theresa (not yet canonized) on the occasion of her feast-day (September 25).[2] But such interruptions were infrequent, and Cervantes had reached the fifty-ninth chapter of his sequel before he came across a spurious Second Part of *Don Quixote* which had been licensed at Tarragona on July 4, 1614, and purported to be the work of one Alonso Fernandez de Avellaneda. We cannot tell when Cervantes first saw the apocryphal continuation: probably not till after he had sent the *Viage del Parnaso* to the printers. Had the manuscript still been in his hands, he could scarcely have resisted the temptation to add a few words on an intrusion which he deeply resented.

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[1] *Don Quixote,* Part II, chapter xxxvi.

[2] The stanzas to Blessed Theresa appeared in the *Compendio de las solenes fiestas qve en toda España se hicieron en la Beatificacion de N. B. M. Teresa de Iesus fvndadora de la Reformacion de Descalzos y Descalzas de N. S. del Carmen en prosa y verso* (Madrid, 1615). This volume, edited by Fray Diego de San Ioseph, contains contributions by Lope de Vega, Espinel, Valdivielso, and other poets of repute. Cervantes's *cancion* will be found in *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, pp. 437–40.

Cervantes could see no merit in the Tarragona *Don Quixote*, which he branded as silly and obscene.[1] This is the view of a man with a real grievance. Avellaneda's book, though sometimes dull and sometimes brutal, is by no means unreadable. But it has one fatal defect: at its best it is imitative, and it would never have existed had not Cervantes pointed the way with the First Part of *Don Quixote*. Avellaneda might have been worse employed than in writing it, and one could have made something like a case for him had he issued his sequel two years earlier. As things were, there was no excuse for its publication, for a passage in the Prologue to the *Novelas exemplares* had made it clear that Cervantes himself had the genuine Second Part in hand.[2] This announcement, made publicly in 1613, did not induce Avellaneda to suppress his work. On the contrary, he pressed on with it, and made his offence more rank by writing an insolent preface in which, gleefully dwelling on the prospect of his spoiling Cervantes's market, he bespattered the man whom he had determined to rob. It is not surprising that Cervantes took offence at Avellaneda's scurrilities. No one, however urbane, likes being fleeced and flouted. No author, however meek and lowly in heart, enjoys being told that he cackles; that his attitude to his readers is aggressive and bumptious; that his tongue wags more freely than the one hand that fate has left him[1]; that, though a soldier old in years, he is but a fop in airs and graces; that he is a cantankerous creature who quarrels with every one; that his soured and envious nature (scandalous in an elderly person who has taken to devotion as a last resource) has left him without a friend in the world, so that he is driven to concoct his own eulogistic sonnets; that his best book was written in a dungeon[2]; and that it bears the convict brand upon it, inasmuch as it has the growling, snarling, fretful, and splenetic tone characteristic of jailbirds.[3]

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[1] *Don Quixote,* Part II, chapter lix.

[2] '. . . y primero veràs, y con breuedad dilatadas las hazañas de don Quixote, y donayres de Sancho Pança. . . .'

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[1] From Avellaneda's words it may be gathered that he had never seen Cervantes, and that his allusion to Cervantes's mutilation is an inference from a passage in the Prologue to the *Novelas exemplares.*

[2] This touch is likewise derived, not from personal knowledge, but from an obscure passage in the Prologue to the First Part of *Don Quixote.*

[3] The relevant parts of Avellaneda's *Prologo* are as follows: 'Como casi es comedia toda la historia de don Quixote dela Mancha, no puede ni deue yr sin prologo: y assi sale al principio desta segunda parte de sus hazañas estè menos cacareado, y agressor de sus letores, que el que a su primera parte puso Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra, y mas humilde que el que segundò en sus Nouelas mas satiricas que exemplares, si bien no poco ingeniosas, no le pareceran a el lo son las razones desta historia que se prosigue, con la autoridad que el la començò, y con la copia de fieles relaciones que a su mano llegaron (y digo mano, pues confiessa de si que tiene sola vna, y hablando tanto de todos, emos de dezir del, que como soldado tan viejo en años, quanto moço en brios, tiene mas lengua que manos) pero quexesse de mi trabajo por la ganancia que le quito de su segunda parte pues no podra por lo menos dexar de confessar tenemos ambos vn fin, que es desterrar la perniciosa licion de los vanos libros de caualleria, tan

These personalities might have annoyed a milder man than Cervantes.

In the thickets and swamps which form the

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ordinaria en gente rustica y ociosa, si bien en los medios diferenciamos, pues el tomò por tales el ofender a mi, y particularmente a quien tan justamente celebran las naciones mas estrangeras, y la nuestra deue tanto por auer entretenido honestissima, y fecundamente tantos años los teatros de España con estupendas, è inumerables comedias, con el rigor del arte que pide el mundo, y con la seguridad y limpieza que de vn ministro del santo Oficio se deue esperar.

'No solo he tomado por medio entremessar la presente Comedia con las simplicidades de Sancho Pança, huyendo de ofender a nadie, ni de hazer ostentacion de sinonomos voluntarios, si bien supiera hazer lo segundo, y mal lo primero: solo digo, que nadie se espante de que salga de diferente autor, esta segunda parte; pues no es nueuo el prosseguir vna historia diferentes sujetos; quantos han hablado de los amores de Angelica, y de sus sucessos: las Arcadias, diferentes las han escrito: la Diana no es toda de vna mano. Y pues Miguel de Ceruantes es ya de viejo como el Castillo de san Ceruantes, y por los años tan mal contentadizo, que todo y todos le enfadan, y por ello està tan falto de amigos, que quando quisiera adornar sus libros con sonetos campanudos, auia de ahijarlos (como el dize) al Preste Iuan de las Indias, o al Emperador de Trapisonda por no hallar titulo quiças en España, que no se ofendiera de que tomara su nombre en la boca, con permitir tantos, baxan los suyos en los principios de los libros del autor, de quien murmura; y plegue a Dios aun dexe aora que se ha acogido a la Iglesia, y sagrado. Contentese con su Galatea, y comedias en prosa, que esso son las mas de sus Nouelas; no nos canse. Santo Thomas en la 2. 2. q. 36 enseña que la embidia es tristeza del bien y aumento ageno, dotrina que la tomò de S. Iuan Damasceno: a este vicio da por hijos S. Gregorio . . . el odio, susurracion, detraccion del proximo, gozo de sus pesares, y pesar de sus buenas dichas . . . pero disculpan los hierros de su primera parte en esta materia el auerse escrito entre los de vna carcel, y assi no pudo dexar de salir tiznada dellos, ni salir menos que quexosa, mormuradora, impaciente, y colerica, qual lo estan los encarcelados, en algo diferencia esta parte dela primera suya, porque tengo opuesto humor tambien al suyo, y en materia de opiniones, en cosas de historia, y tan autentica como esta: cada qual puede echar por donde le pareciere, y mas dando para ello tan dilatado campo la cafilla de los papeles que para componerla he leydo, que son tantos como los que he dexado de leer.'

underworld of literature there always lurk reptiles—

> Scorpion, and asp, and amphisbaena dire,
> Cerastes horned, hydrus and ellops drear,
> And dipsas—

that never crawl into daylight save to attack some writer whose little measure of success is his sole crime. Avellaneda was of this species. Cervantes hints that 'Avellaneda' was a pseudonym[1]; and the world has followed his lead, but without much result. We know nothing of Cervantes's assailant.[2] He may have been an unscrupulous rival like that Matheo Luxan de Sayavedra who, in 1602, had published a spurious continuation of Mateo Aleman's *Primera Parte de Guzman de Alfarache.* Or he may have been merely a bilious pedant like that Pedro de Torres Ramila who, in 1617, flung his *Spongia* at Lope de Vega.[3] Or he may have been a mediocre playwright who, in his self-complacency, took the strictures on the *comedia nueva* in the forty-eighth chapter of *Don Quixote* for an attack on his unappreciated masterpieces, assumed a pseudonym, and dragged in a covert allusion to Lope de Vega in order to give himself an air of mystery and importance. It is also possible that Avellaneda was the writer's real name, and that he came from Tordesillas, as he states on his title-page.[1] The one thing certain is that Avellaneda hoped to make a little money by bringing out an unauthorized continuation of another man's work. When he learned from the Prologue to the *Novelas exemplares* that the author of the First Part of *Don Quixote* would shortly publish a sequel, he saw his chance of gain vanish. His preface is an expression of spite and baulked cupidity.

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[1] Cervantes's phrase in the Prologue to the Second Part of *Don Quixote* is 'autor del segundo don Quixote, digo de aquel que dizen, que se engendrô en Tordesillas, y nacio en Tarragona'.

[2] Some of the attempts at identification are noted in the *Complete Works of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Glasgow, 1901), vol. III, pp. xxvii–xxix. A more recent and more ingenious, though not more convincing, contribution to a discussion which has hitherto proved fruitless will be found in M. Paul Groussac's volume entitled *Une énigme littéraire. Le Don Quichotte d'Avellaneda* (Paris, 1903).

[3] See Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera, *Nueva Biografía* in *Obras de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1890–1902), vol. I, pp. 300–12.

It would have been better had Cervantes ignored the ribaldry which no one can read now without contempt for the boor who wrote it. He had not learned that no man is ever written down but by himself. He was so far disturbed as to change the plan of his continuation, and he deigned to notice Avellaneda's impertinences. This condescension was a mistake. Cervantes replied with dignified moderation in the Prologue to the Second Part of *Don Quixote*, but the references to his enemy in the text were less happy. It cannot be denied that the last fifteen chapters show signs of haste and of natural anger: still, it is not impossible that, but for Avellaneda's intrusion, Cervantes might have left his great book unfinished, and, if this be so, posterity is indebted to the abusive interloper. However that may be, Cervantes had written his *Vale* by February 25, 1615. We know that on that day the authentic continuation was already in the hands of the official licenser, Francisco Marquez Torres, who relates a story[1] of his accompanying one of Cervantes's benefactors, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, to return a visit from the French special envoy, Noël Brûlart de Sillery. At the Embassy several of the accomplished gentlemen in

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[1] This title-page reads as follows: *Segundo Tomo del Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha, que contiene su tercera salida: y es la quinta parte de sus auenturas.* Compuesto por el Licenciado Alonso Fernandez de Auellaneda, natural de la Villa de Tordesillas. Al Alcalde, Regidores, y hidalgos, de la noble villa del Argamesilla, patria feliz del hidalgo Cauallero Don Quixote de la Mancha. Con Licencia, En Tarragona en casa de Felipe Roberto, Año 1614.

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[1] Marquez Torres gives his account of the interview in his *Aprobacion* to the Second Part of *Don Quixote*: 'Certifico con verdad, que en veynte y cinco de Febrero deste año de seiscientos y quinze, auiendo ydo el Illustrissimo señor don Bernardo de Sandoual, y Rojas, Cardenal, Arçobispo de Toledo mi señor, a pagar la visita que a su Illustrissima hizo el Embaxador de Francia, que vino a tratar cosas tocantes a los casamientos de sus Principes, y los de España, muchos Caualleros Francesses, de los que vinierõ acompañando al Embaxador, tan corteses, como entendidos, y amigos de buenas letras, se llegaron a mi, y a otros Capellanes del Cardenal mi señor, desseosos de saber que libros de ingenio andauan mas validos, y tocando a caso en este, que yo estaua censurando, a penas oyeron el nombre de Miguel de Ceruantes, quando se començaron a hazer lenguas, encareciendo la estimacion, en que assi en Francia, como en los Reynos sus confinantes, se tenia sus obras, la Galatea, que alguno dellos tiene casi de memoria, la primera parte desta, y las Nouelas. Fueron tantos sus encare[ci]mientos, que me ofreci, lleuarles que viessen el autor dellas, que estimaron con mil demostraciones de viuos deseos. Preguntaronme muy por menor su edad, su profession, calidad y cantidad. Halleme obligado a dezir que era viejo, soldado, Hidalgo, y pobre, a que vno respondio estas formales palabras. Pues a tal hombre no le tiene España muy rico, y sustentado del erario publico. Acudio otro de aquellos Caualleros, cõ este pẽsamiento, y cõ mucha agudeza, y dixo: Si necessidad le ha de obligar a escriuir, plega a Dios q̃ nũca tenga abundancia, para que con sus obras, siendo el pobre, haga rico a todo el mundo.'

Sillery's suite were highly interested to hear that Marquez Torres had the Second Part of *Don Quixote* under consideration, and they declared themselves warm admirers of the author's works, not least of *La Galatea*, which one of them (so we are invited to believe) knew almost by heart. In reply to pressing questions as to the writer's age, profession, status and circumstances, Marquez Torres could only say that he was old, a soldier, a gentleman, and poor. One of the courteous foreigners marvelled that such a man was not on the pension list, whereupon a companion remarked that, if want forced Cervantes to write, it was to be hoped that he would never be well off, since his poverty enriched the world. If these French admirers accepted Marquez Torres's offer to take them to Cervantes's lodging, they must have seen from his surroundings that he was poor indeed.[1] Though famous in and out of Spain, he remained poor till his death. He accepted his poverty with resignation, and waited patiently while the manuscript of the Second Part of *Don Quixote* passed from one official to the other. Marquez Torres gave his *Aprobacion* on February 27, 1615; José de Valdivielso, the well-known poet, gave a second *Aprobacion* on March 17; a *Privilegio* for twenty years was granted on March 31. The printing went forward slowly: the *Fe de Erratas* and the *Tassa* were not dispatched till October 21, and on October 31 Cervantes signed his dedication to the Conde de Lemos. But there was another formality to be gone through, and the book was held back for some time.

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[1] Sr. Cotarelo y Mori speaks (*Efemérides cervantinas*, p. 259) of the visit to Cervantes as having actually taken place. Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada conjectured (pp. 178–81 of the *Varias Noticias literarias* which precede his *Ensayo de una bibliotheca de traductores españoles*, Madrid, 1778) that, through the visit of these French gentlemen, the King of France offered to make Cervantes rector of a school for the teaching of Spanish in Paris: the basis of this conjecture is the passage about the Emperor of China in the dedication of the Second Part of *Don Quixote*.

Meanwhile Cervantes had another volume in the press: his *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nvevos, nunca representados*. In his Prologue[1] he smilingly recalls his memories of old days, relating how he had seen Lope de Rueda in his youth, how he him-

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[1] 'No puedo dexar (Lector carissimo) de suplicarte me perdones, si vieres que en este Prologo salgo algun tanto de mi acostumbrada modestia: los dias passados me hallè en vna conuersacion de amigos, donde se tratò de Comedias, y de las cosas a ellas concernientes, y de tal manera las subtilizaron, y atildaron, que a mi parecer vinieron a quedar en pũto de toda perfeccion: tratose tambien de quien fue el primero que en España las sacò de mantillas, y las puso en toldo, y vistio de gala, y apariencia, yo como el mas viejo que alli estaua, dixe, que me acordaua de auer visto representar al gran Lope de Rueda varon insigne en la representacion, y en el entendimiento, fue natural de Seuilla, y de oficio batihoja, que quiere dezir, de los que hazen panes de oro, fue admirable en la poesia pastoril, y en este modo, ni entõces, ni despues acà ninguno le ha lleuado ventaja, y aunque por ser muchacho yo entonces, no podia hazer juyzio firme de la bondad de sus versos, por algunos que me quedaron en la memoria. Vistos agora en la edad madura que tengo hallo ser verdad lo que he dicho ... Sucedio a Lope de Rueda Nabarro natural de Toledo, el qual fue famoso en hazer la figura de vn rufian cobarde este leuantò algun tanto mas el adorno de las Comedias ... pero esto no llegò al sublime punto en que està agora, (y esto es verdad, que no se me puede contradezir, y aqui entra el salir yo de los limites de mi llaneza) que se vieron en los teatros de Madrid representar los tratos de Argel que yo compuse, la destruycion de Numancia, y la batalla Naual, donde me atreui a reduzir las Comedias a tres jornadas de cinco que teniã mostrè, (o por mejor dezir) fui el primero que representasse las imaginaciones, y los pensamientos escondidos del alma, sacando figuras morales al teatro, con general, y gustoso aplauso de los oyentes, compuse en este tiempo hasta

veynte Comedias, o treynta, que todas ellas se recitaron sin que se les ofreciesse ofrenda de pepinos, ni de otra cosa arrojadiza : corrieron su carrera sin siluos, gritas, ni baraundas : tuue otras cosas en que ocuparme, dexè la pluma, y las Comedias, y entrò luego el monstruo de naturaleza, el gran Lope de Vega, y alçose con la monarquia comica auassallò, y puso debaxo de su juridicion a todos los farsantes, lleno el mundo de Comedias propias, felices, y bien razonadas, y tantas que passan de diez mil pliegos los que tiene escritos, y todas (que es vna de las mayores cosas que puede dezirse) las ha visto representar, o oydo dezir, (por lo menos) que se han representado, y si algunos (que ay muchos) han querido entrar a la parte, y gloria de sus trabajos, todos juntos no llegan en lo que han escrito a la mitad de lo que el solo : pero no por esto (pues no lo cõcede Dios todo a todos) dexẽ de tenerle en precio los trabajos del Doctor Ramõ, q̃ fuerõ los mas despues de los del gran Lope : estimense las traças artificiosas en todo estremo del Licenciado Miguel Sanchez, la grauedad del Doctor Mira de Mescua, honra singular de nuestra nacion : la discrecion, e inumerables conceptos del Canonigo Tarraga : la suauidad, y dulçura de don Guillen de Castro, la agudeza de Aguilar, el rumbo, el tropel, el boato : la grandeza de las Comedias de Luys Velez de Gueuara, y las que agora estan en xerga del agudo ingenio de don Antonio de Galarça, y las que prometen las fullerias de amor de Gaspar de Auila, q̃ todos estos, y otros algunos han ayudado a lleuar esta gran maquina al gran Lope : algunos años ha que bolui yo a mi antigua ociosidad, y pensando que aun durauan los siglos, donde corrian mis alabanças, bolui a componer algunas comedias : pero no hallè paxaros en los nidos de antaño : quiero dezir q̃ no hallè autor q̃ me las pidiesse, puesto q̃ sabian q̃ las tenia : y assi las arrinconè en vn cofre, y las consagrè, y condenè al perpetuo silẽcio. En esta sazon me dixo vn librero, que el me las comprara, si vn Autor de titulo no le huuiera dicho, que de mi prosa se podia esperar mucho, pero que del verso nada : y si va a dezir la verdad, cierto que me dio pesadumbre el oyrlo, y dixe entre mi : O yo me he mudado en otro, o los tiempos se han mejorado mucho, sucediẽdo siempre al reues, pues siempre se alaban los passados tiempos. Tornè a passar los ojos por mis comedias, y por algunos entremeses mios, q̃ cõ ellas estauã arrinconados, y vi no ser tã malas, ni tã malos q̃ no mereciessen salir de las tinieblas del ingenio de aquel Autor, a la luz de otros Autores menos escrupulosos, y mas entendidos : aburrime, y vendiselas al tal librero q̃ las ha puesto en

self had succeeded later in the theatre; how he had been an innovator in his time; how he had dropped out of the race and taken to other occupations; how when once more at leisure he began writing again for the stage (now dominated by that 'portent of nature', Lope de Vega); how he found himself neglected by the new school of managers; and how he thrust these new plays into a box and left them there till they were mentioned recently in conversation with his neighbour, Juan de Villarroel. This struggling publisher excused himself for not buying them by quoting the discouraging opinion of an actor-manager who, though an admirer of Cervantes's prose, thought little of his verse. Cervantes goes on to say that, nettled by this snub, he overhauled his plays, found them passable enough, finally sold them to Villarroel for a decent price and quickly pocketed the money,[1] making no account of mummers

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la estampa, como aqui te las ofrece, el me las pagò razonablemente, yo cogi mi dinero con suauidad, sin tener cuenta con dimes, ni diretes de Recitantes, querria que fuessen las mejores del mundo, o alomenos razonables, tu lo veras (Lector mio) y si hallares que tienẽ alguna cosa buena, en topando a aquel mi maldiciente Autor, dile que se emiende, pues yo no ofendo a nadie, y que aduierta que no tienen necedades patentes y descubiertas: y que el verso es el mismo que piden las comedias, que ha de ser de los tres estilos el infimo, y que el lenguage de los entremeses es proprio de las figuras que en ellos se introduzen: y que para enmienda de todo esto le ofrezco vna comedia que estoy componiendo, y la intitulo el engaño a los ojos, que (si no me engaño) le ha de dar contento. Y con esto Dios te dè salud, y a mi paciencia.'

[1] Probably the price was not high. That Villarroel was short of money appears from a *carta de obligacion* of November 6, 1615 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 297). In this he

and their fiddle-faddle. Having made his bargain, Villarroel hurried through the preliminaries to publication. Valdivielso signed an *Aprobacion* for the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos* on July 3; a *Privilegio* for ten years was obtained at Valladolid on July 25, and within two months the volume of plays had passed through the press, the *Fe de erratas* being dispatched on September 13, and the *Tassa* on September 22. No date is attached to the dedicatory epistle to the Conde de Lemos, in which Cervantes, vowing that all his future works shall be dedicated to his patrons, gives a passing dig at Avellaneda. The *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos* were ready for delivery before November 1, 1615,[1] whereas Gutierre Cetina's final *Aprobacion* to

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undertakes to pay 1,500 *reales*, the balance of his account with Francisca de Medina, widow of Alonso Martin, for the printing of Cervantes's plays and of Juan Perez de Moya's *Arithmetica Practica, y Specvlativa* (Madrid, 1615).

[1] This follows from entries in the *Libro Primero de la Hermandad de San Juan Evangelista á la Porta-Latina y de los Impresores de Madrid*, ff. 137 and 139 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 197):

'En seis de Setiembre [1615] traxo Domingo de Vera por los dos meses de Julio y Agosto pasados veinte y siete reales menos seis maravedis, en que entró la capilla de las Rimas Sacras, son de casa de Alonso Martin . 26–28

'Mas hoy dicho dia primero de Noviembre (1615) traxo Vera de casa de Alonso Martin treinta y dos reales y quatro maravedis de la limosna de Setiembre y Octubre, y de la capilla de dos Comedias de Cervantes y un libro de Sermones . . . . 32–4'

There was apparently some delay in delivering Lope de Vega's *Rimas Sacras*, the *Tassa* of which is dated September 24, 1614. The other volume no doubt contained the sermons preached in honour of the beatification of our Seraphic Mother Teresa: the *Tassa* is dated September 24, 1615.

the Second Part of *Don Quixote* was not signed till November 5. Hence this sequel can scarcely have been published before December 1615. To prevent the possibility of any confusion with Avellaneda's volume, the writer of the true continuation added 'autor de su primera parte' after his name on the title-page. The precaution was superfluous. Nobody was likely to mistake the apocryphal sequel for the authentic one. Moreover, Avellaneda's licence did not permit him to sell his work outside the limits of the Tarragona diocese.[1] And, finally, his continuation dropped still-born from the press.[2]

XIII

The *Segunda Parte del Ingenioso Cavallero Don Quixote de la Mancha* was the last of his books that Cervantes saw in print. He had a sonnet ready for Juan Yagüe de Salas,[3] and another dedicated to

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[1] On July 4, 1615, Francisco de Torme y de Liori, acting for Juan de Moncada, Archbishop of Tarragona, wrote: 'damos y otorgamos licencia que se pueda imprimir y vender en este Arçobispado.'

[2] Avellaneda's sequel was forgotten in Spain till 1730, when it was issued with 'Tomo III' on the title-page, and was got up to match the 1723 and 1730 editions of Cervantes's *Don Quixote*. An expurgated edition of Avellaneda's book appeared at Madrid in 1805–6; it was not heard of again till 1851, when it was included in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. XVIII, pp. 1–115. Of later editions the most notable is one published (Barcelona, 1905) with a learned introduction by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo.

[3] *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, pp. 430–1. The sonnet appeared first in Juan Yagüe de Salas's tragic epic, *Los Amantes de Teruel* (Valencia, 1616). Alonso Remon gave his *Aprobacion* to the book on January 22, 1615; the King's *licencia* was granted on January 26. Possibly the sonnet was not written till

Alfonso Gonzalez de Salazar[1]; and he was full of projects. He seems to have counted on more time than was to be given him. He was in his sixty-ninth year when the Second Part of *Don Quixote* was published, and was beginning to feel that age was telling on him. In the Prologue to the *Novelas exemplares* he has left us his portrait at the age of sixty-six. There we see him, as he saw himself: a man of aquiline visage, with chestnut hair, smooth and unruffled brow, sparkling eyes; a nose arched but well-proportioned; a beard that was golden twenty years earlier, but had now turned to silver; a long moustache that shaded a small mouth con-

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after these preliminaries were over. Another *Aprobacion* was given at Valencia on July 16, 1616, and a local *licencia* was signed on July 18, 1616, by Vicente Perez, acting for Doctor Martinez. It is plain that the volume was not issued till three or four months after Cervantes's death.

[1] *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, p. 438. In the notes to their translation (Madrid, 1851–6) of George Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, Pascual de Gayangos and Enrique de Vedia suggest (vol. III, pp. 506–7) that Cervantes was in some degree related to the nun Alfonsa Gonzalez de Salazar through his wife.

The sonnet first appeared in Miguel Toledano's *Minerva Sacra* (Madrid, 1616). As this volume was not delivered to the Hermandad de los Impresores de Madrid till August 7, 1616 (Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña, Parte Segunda*, Madrid, 1906, p. 396), we may perhaps assume that it appeared after Cervantes's death (April 23, 1616).

An ode by Cervantes, addressed to the Conde de Saldaña, was first printed in 1846, and will be found in *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863–4), vol. VIII, pp. 444–7. The date of composition is uncertain. Leopoldo Rius vaguely conjectures that the ode was written between 1600 and 1616 (*Bibliografía crítica de las obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Madrid, 1895–9–1905, vol. I, p. 183).

taining few teeth, six in all, in bad condition and worse placed, since they did not correspond to one another; height about the average, neither tall nor short; complexion bright, more fair than dark; somewhat bent, and not very quick on his feet.[1] This is not the portrait of a man young for his years, and Cervantes would seem to have aged considerably between 1613 and 1615. Doubtless his stoop became more marked, his step slower. Marquez Torres, writing in February 1615, bluntly describes him as 'old'; he himself, writing to the Conde de Lemos in the following summer, speaks of the work which he had planned out, but adds doubtfully: 'if my old shoulders can bear such a load.' Clearly, Cervantes had his misgivings when he dedicated his plays to Lemos, before the Second Part of *Don Quixote* appeared; and they were justified. He had undertaken too much. In addition to *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda, Historia Setentrional* (which appeared after his death), he was engaged on four other works which never appeared at all: the long-promised continuation of the *Galatea*, a book to be called *Las Semanas del Jardin*, a play entitled *El Engaño á los ojos*, and *El famoso Bernardo*, perhaps his last great conception.[1] His spirit was indomitable, but his strength was waning, and by the spring of 1616 he knew that he was doomed. On March 26,

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[1] Confirmation of some traits of the portrait is to be gathered elsewhere. In acknowledging (July 31, 1579) the receipt of the two hundred and fifty *ducados* contributed by Cervantes's family towards his ransom, Fray Juan Gil and Fray Anton de la Bella, who no doubt derived their information from Doña Leonor de Cortinas, describe Cervantes as *barbi rubio* (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, p. 56); in the ransom certificate (Algiers, September 19, 1580) Fray Juan Gil describes Cervantes on the day of his release as 'mediano de cuerpo, bien barbado, estropeado del brazo y mano izquierda' (see p. 50, n. 3).

That Cervantes wore spectacles before he published the *Novelas exemplares* we know on the authority of Lope de Vega (see p. 179, n. 1). If the Prologue to the *Novelas exemplares* be taken literally, Cervantes was a stammerer.

Various alleged portraits of Cervantes have been produced from time to time, and have been finally rejected as spurious (see Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Chilindrinas*, Sevilla, 1906, p. 253). The most recent appeared in 1911 (see Sr. Sentenach, *Le portrait de Cervantes* in the *Revue hispanique* (Paris, 1911), vol. XXV, pp. 13–18, and M. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Cervantica. Le 'Iaurigui' de l'Académie espagnole* in the *Revue hispanique* (Paris, 1911), vol. XXV, pp. 476–9.

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[1] For Cervantes's promises to bring out a continuation of the *Galatea* see the Introduction to the *Complete Works of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Glasgow, 1903), vol. II, pp. xxxvi–xxxix.

Las Semanas del Jardin was promised in the Prologue to the *Novelas exemplares* (1613), in the dedication of the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos* (1615), and in the dedication of *Persiles y Sigismunda*, which was published posthumously. Professor Gottfried Baist is of opinion that we have a fragment of *Las Semanas del Jardin* in *La Tia fingida* (*Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II. Band, 2. Abteilung, Strassburg, 1897, p. 462, n. 1). Respecting *La Tia fingida*, which was not printed till 1814, see M. R. Foulché-Delbosc's *Étude sur 'La Tia fingida'* in the *Revue hispanique* (Paris, 1899), vol. VI, pp. 256–306; the introduction to the *Complete Works of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Glasgow, 1902), vol. VII, pp. xii–xix; and more especially the ingenious study contributed by Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín to the *Archivo de investigaciones históricas* (Madrid, 1911), vol. II, pp. 5–92.

As for the play, it is promised in a punning passage of the Prologue to the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos* (1615): 'y que para enmienda de todo esto le ofrezco vna comedia que estoy componiendo, y la intitulo el engaño a los ojos, que (si no me engaño) le ha de dar contento. Y con esto Dios te dè salud, y a mi paciencia.'

El famoso Bernardo is promised in the dedication of *Persiles y Sigismunda* (1617), and would appear to have been the last considerable work begun by Cervantes.

1616, he wrote[1] to acknowledge the kindness of Lemos's kinsman, Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, whom Marquez Torres had accompanied to the French Embassy a year before, a prelate whose 'exceeding charity' is praised in the Prologue to the Second Part of *Don Quixote*. In thanking the Cardinal for his recent letter and bounty, Cervantes mentions his illness as having grown 'so much worse lately that I believe it will make an end of me, though not of my gratitude'. He had no illusions as to his condition.

If we are to take literally the statements made in the Prologue to *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, Cervantes would seem to have paid a final visit to his wife's native place about this time. In this Prologue he gracefully describes[2] his meeting on the high road from Esquivias to Madrid with a grey-clad, beruffled and bespectacled student, who, on hearing the great man's name, saluted him hyperbolically as 'el manco sano, el famoso todo, el

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[1] *Obras completas de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1863-4), vol. I, p. lxxi.

[2] This Prologue is so characteristic that it may be well to reproduce it entire from the first edition: 'Svcedio pues, Lector amantissimo, que viniendo otros dos amigos, y yo del famoso lugar de Esquiuias, por mil causas famoso, vna por sus illustres linages, y otra por sus illustrissimos vinos, senti, que a mis espaldas venia picando con gran priessa vno, que al parecer, traîa desseo de alcançarnos, y aun lo mostrò, dandonos vozes, que no picassemos tanto. Esperamosle, y llegò sobre vna borrica vn estudiante pardal, porque todo venia vestido de pardo, antiparas, zapato redondo, y espada con contera, valona bruñida, y con trenças yguales: verdad es, no traìa mas de dos, porque se le venia à vn lado la valona por momentos, y el traìa sumo trabajo, y cuẽta de endereçarla: llegando à nosotros dixo: Vuessas mercedes van à alcançar algũ oficio, ò prebẽda à la Corte, pues allà està su Illustrissima de Toledo, y su Magestad ni mas ni menos, segun la priessa con que caminã, que en verdad que a mi burra se le ha cantado el victor de caminante mas de vna vez? A lo qual respondio vno de mis cõpañeros: El rozin del señor Miguel de Ceruantes tiene la culpa

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desto, porque es algo que pasilargo. Apenas huuo oìdo el estudiante el nõbre de Ceruantes, quãdo apeãdose de su caualgadura, cayendosele aqui el coxin, y alli el portamanteo, que con toda esta autoridad caminaua, arremetio à mi, y acudiendo assirme de la mano yzquierda, dixo : Si, si, este es el manco sano, el famoso todo, el escritor alegre, y finalmente el regozijo de las Musas ? Yo que en tan poco espacio vi el grande encomio de mis alabanças, pareciome ser descortesia, no corresponder a ellas, y assi abrazandole por el cuello, donde le echè a perder de todo punto la valona, le dixè : Esse es vn error, donde han caido muchos aficionados ignorantes, yo, señor, soy Ceruantes, pero no el regozijo de las Musas, ni ninguno de las demas baratijas, que ha dicho vuessa merced : vuelua à cobrar su burra, y suba, y caminemos en buena conuersacion, lo poco que nos falta del camino : hizolo assi el comedido estudiante, tuuimos algun tanto mas las riendas, y con paso assentado seguimos nuestro camino, en el qual se tratò de mi enfermedad, y el buen estudiante me deshaucio al momento, diziendo: Esta enfermedad es de ydropesia, que no la sanarà toda el agua del mar Oceano que dulcemente se beuiesse : vuessa merced, señor Ceruantes, ponga tassa al beuer, no oluidandose de comer, que con esto sanarà sin otra medicina alguna. Esso me han dicho muchos, respõdi yo, pero assi puedo dexar de beuer à todo mi beneplacito, como si para solo esso huuiera nacido, mi vida se va acabando, y al paso de las efemeridas de mis pulsos, que a mas tardar, acabaràn su carrera este Domingo, acabarè yo la de mi vida. En fuerte punto ha llegado vuessa merced, à conocerme, pues no me queda espacio, para mostrarme agradecido a la voluntad, que vuessa merced me ha mostrado : en esto llegamos à la puente de Toledo, y yo entrè por ella, y el se apartò à entrar por la de Segouia. Lo que se dira de mi sucesso, tendra la fama cuydado, mis amigos gana de dezilla, y yo mayor gana de escuchalla. Tornèle à abraçar, voluioseme ofrecer, picò à su burra, y dexòme tan mal dispuesto, como el yua cauallero en su burra, à quien auia dado gran ocasion a mi pluma, para escriuir donayres, pero no son todos los tiempos vnos : tiempo vendra quiça, donde anudando este roto hilo, diga, lo que aqui me falta, y lo que sè, conuenia. A Dios gracias, à Dios donayres, à Dios regozijados amigos, que yo me voy muriendo, y desseando veros presto contentos en la otra vida.'

escritor alegre, y finalmente el regocijo de las musas'. As the young enthusiast ambled on his ass beside his hero's long-striding nag, the conversation turned (so we are told) on Cervantes's illness, which the student diagnosed as dropsy, counselling the sick man to drink next to nothing—advice not easily followed by one who was evidently consumed with thirst. Dropsy is no longer regarded as a specific malady, but as a symptom which occurs in various diseases.[1] With such insufficient data as we have, it is impossible to say precisely what Cervantes suffered from: whatever it was, he knew that he was beyond cure when he wrote the Prologue to *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda.*

The ride from Esquivias (if it ever took place) was his last. When, as he says, he parted from the admiring student at the Toledo Bridge leading into Madrid, he felt life ebbing from him, and imagined that all would be over by the following Sunday. He was not to be released so soon. On April 2, being then too ill to leave his lodgings in the Calle del Leon, he was professed at home as a Tertiary of Saint Francis.[1] There was no hope for him on April 18, when he received the sacrament of Extreme Unction from Francisco Lopez, the priest who had ministered to Andrea and Magdalena on their death-beds.[2] On April 19 Cervantes made a supreme effort, wrote his moving valedictory dedication of *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, and laid down his pen. His work was done. He would have wished, he says, to live long enough to see Lemos again. But it was not to be: he felt this when—a man of letters even in his agony—he adapted the opening of certain *coplas antiguas* to his purpose:

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[1] Some modern Spanish doctors are of opinion that Cervantes suffered from arterio-sclerosis. This is not impossible, for dropsy is present in many forms of heart disease; but it is also present in disease of the liver, kidneys, and lungs, as well as in cases of ascites and diabetes. I gather from the experts whom I have consulted that the thirst from which Cervantes suffered is specially characteristic of diabetes; that no proper study of this complaint was even begun till 1679, when Thomas Willis's observations served as a starting-point; and that the physicians of Cervantes's time would therefore have failed to diagnose it.

> Puesto ya el pie en el estriuo,
> con las ansias de la muerte,
> Gran Señor, esta te escriuo.[3]

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[1] See Juan Antonio Pellicer, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* in *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Madrid, 1797-8), vol. I, p. ccxiv:

'En dos de abril de mil seiscientos y diez y seis profesó, en su casa por estar enfermo, el hermano Miguel de Zerbantes: en la calle del Leon, en casa de D. Francisco Martinez, clerigo, hermano de la Orden.'

This is copied from fol. 130 *b* of the record mentioned on p. 156, n. 1. The facts respecting Cervantes's receiving the habit of the Tertiaries are stated on p. 179, n. 2.

[2] The date is given by Cervantes in the dedication of *Persiles y Sigismunda* dated April 19, 1616: 'ayer me dieron la Estrema vncion, y oy escriuo esta.'

[3] These *coplas antiguas* have been identified and published (with two *glosas*) by M. R. Foulché-Delbosc in the *Revue hispanique*, Paris, 1899, vol. VI, pp. 319-21. The first stanza reads as follows:

> Puesto ya el pie en el estriuo
> con las ansias de la muerte
> señora, aquesta te escriuo,
> pues partir no puedo vivo,
> quanto mas tornar a verte.

'With one foot in the stirrup,' he made ready for his journey from sunshine to the sunless land. Cervantes died on Saturday, April 23, 1616.[1] Next day, clothed in his Franciscan habit and with his face uncovered,[2] he was borne by his brother Tertiaries from the Calle del Leon to the convent of the Barefooted Trinitarian nuns in the Calle de Cantarranas.[3] There he was buried and there he still rests. No stone marks his grave, which is now beyond identification. His will has not

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The lines were evidently often in Cervantes's mind: he had already quoted them incidentally in *La Ilustre fregona.*

[1] See the last page (*D* 2 verso, but unnumbered) of the editor's preface to *Comedias, y entremeses de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, el autor del Don Quixote, divididas en dos tomos, con una Dissertacion, o Prologo sobre las Comedias de España* (Madrid, 1749).

'En 23. de Abril de 1616. años muriò Miguèl Cervantes Saavedra, casado con Doña Cathalina de Salazar, Calle del Leon. Recibiò los Santos Sacramentos de mano del Licenciado Francisco Lopez. Mandóse enterrar en las Monjas Trinitarias. Mandò dos *Missas del alma,* y lo demàs à voluntad de su muger, que es Testamentaria, y al Licenciado Francisco Nuñez [Martinez], que vive alli. Fol. 270 [de los Libros de la Parroquia de San Sebastian de Madrid].'

The editor of this issue, Blas Antonio Nasarre y Ferruz, makes one or two slips in his transcription. The most important of these is the substitution of Nuñez for Martinez: this is corrected by Sr. D. Ramón León Máinez in *Cervantes y su época*, p. 570 n.

[2] This fact is stated in the epitaph at the beginning of *Persiles y Sigismunda*: 'De Don Francisco de Vrbina à Miguel de Ceruantes insigne, y Christiano ingenio de nuestros tiempos, à quien lleuaron los Terceros de san Francisco, à enterrar con la cara descubierta, como à Tercero que era.' The writer of the epitaph was brother of Lope de Vega's first wife, Isabel de Urbina.

[3] Navarrete states (*Vida*, pp. 532–6) that Cervantes was buried in the Calle del Humilladero. The improbability of this has often been pointed out: the impossibility of it is now established (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 345–82, and vol. II, pp. 539–47).

been found; but he is known to have directed that two masses should be offered for the repose of his soul, and that others should be said at the discretion of his executors,[1] Doña Catalina and Francisco Martinez,[2] the priest in whose house he died.[3]

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[1] See Cervantes's death-certificate (quoted on p. 203, n. 1). We cannot doubt that Doña Catalina arranged for many more masses to be said for Cervantes. When she came to die some ten years later she left instructions that three hundred masses were to be offered for the repose of her soul: see p. 208, n. 1.

[2] Martinez became chaplain to the Trinitarian nuns in whose convent Cervantes was buried: Luis de Molina appointed him executor of his will dated December 25, 1631 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, pp. 211–19).

[3] Cervantes changed his lodgings frequently during the last seven years of his residence at Madrid. The records of the Franciscan Tertiaries show that on June 8, 1609, when his wife and his sister Andrea received the habit, he was living in the 'calle de la Magdalena, á las espaldas de la duquesa de Pastrana'. The entry concerning his wife is supplemented with the words—'ya vive á las espaldas de Elorito'. This move to the back of the College of our Lady of Loretto is presumed to have taken place before October 9, 1609. At this date Cervantes and his family were living 'en la calle de la Madalena, frontero de Francisco Daza, maestro de hacer coches'. The record of his wife's profession as a Franciscan Tertiary (see p. 161, n. 1) shows that Cervantes was living 'en la calle del Leon, frontero de Castillo, panadero de Corte' on June 27, 1610. A passage in the *Adjunta al Parnaso* seems to indicate that on July 22, 1614—or a little earlier—Cervantes lodged 'en la calle de las huertas, frontero de las casas dõde solia viuir el Principe de Marruecos'. Navarrete mentions (*Vida*, p. 476) another move to the Calle del Duque de Alba: 'Que moró en la calle del duque de Alba, cerca de la del Estudio de San Isidro, se sabe por el proceso de desahucio que existia en la escribanía de D. Juan Zamácola.' The house in the Calle del Leon in which Cervantes died stood 'en la esquina de la calle de Francos'.

In *El Antiguo Madrid* Ramon de Mesonero Romanos writes as follows (*Obras*, Madrid, 1881, vol. VI, pp. 45–6): 'El insigne Cervántes, que habitó, como dijimos, un tiempo, en la calle de las Huertas, hácia el número 16 nuevo, *frontero de las casas donde solia*

Cervantes's papers passed into the keeping of his widow. Of the four works which he mentioned as in progress only one was printed: *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda.* The others were probably unfinished: apparently no care was taken to preserve these three manuscripts.[1] Five months after Cervantes's death his widow obtained a *Privilegio* for *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda,*[2] and sold it to Villarroel.[3] The book was printed before Christmas,

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vivir el Príncipe de Marruecos, moró otra vez en la plazuela de *Matute, detras del colegio del Loreto*; otra en la calle del Leon (*ó Mentidero*), número 9 antiguo y 8 moderno; y en fin, vino á fallecer en la misma calle, en la casa número 20 antiguo de la manzana 228, que hace esquina á la de Francos, y que fué demolida por ruinosa en 1833.' See, also, the same writer's article, *La Casa de Cervántes*, contributed under the pseudonym of 'El Curioso Parlante' to the *Revista Española* (23 de Abril de 1833), and included in the First Series of *Escenas Matritenses* (*Obras*, Madrid, 1881, vol. I, pp. 305–18).

[1] Most of Cervantes's autographs are reports, petitions, signatures to receipts, and the like. Three of a literary character are alleged to exist: the first two *redondillas* on the death of Isabel de Valois, the ode on the Conde de Saldaña, and the letter to Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas (pp. 14, 196 n. 1, and 199 of the present volume). The *redondillas* are juvenile compositions; the ascription to Cervantes of the ode on Saldaña is contestable; the third is a private letter and it is by no means certain that any of these, except the letter, is in Cervantes's handwriting. But, assuming all of them to be authentic holographs, the number would be astonishingly few.

[2] José de Valdivielso's *Aprobacion* was given on September 9, 1616; on September 24 a *Privilegio* for ten years was granted to 'Catalina de Salazar biuda de Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra'.

[3] Villarroel and the printer Juan de la Cuesta are judged to have taken unusual pains in producing the book. Leopoldo Rius writes (*Bibliografía crítica de las obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Madrid, 1895–1905, vol. I, p. 161): 'El papel es bueno y la impresión muy esmerada. Puede afirmarse que de todas las ediciones *príncipes* de las Obras de Cervantes, excepción hecha del *Viaje del Parnaso*, es la mejor impresa.' As already stated (p. 182) it is possible that in the case of the *Viage del Parnaso* the printing bill was paid by the elder Tapia.

1616,[1] and appeared early in 1617.[2] Cervantes had been engaged on it for at least three years,[3] and evidently felt confident of its success.[4] At the outset his expectations seemed likely to be fulfilled. Some six or seven[5] editions were issued in the Peninsula[6] during 1617; in 1618 two French translations of the work appeared, and an English version was published in 1619. But this popularity was not lasting. Public interest in *Persiles y Sigismunda* rapidly diminished, flickered out in Spain soon after 1630, and showed no sign of revival for nearly a century.[1]

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[1] The *Fe de erratas* is dated December 15, 1616; the *Tassa* was signed on December 23 by Geronimo Nuñez de Leon, who, apparently forgetting for the moment that the author was dead, ends with the words: 'de pedimiento de la parte del dicho Miguel de Ceruantes doy esta fee.'

[2] This follows from the *Libro Primero de la Hermandad de San Juan Evangelista á la Porta-Latina y de los Impresores de Madrid*, f. 156 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 198):

'A dos de Abril de 1617 de la capilla de casa de Juan de la Cuesta se traxo:

2 Libros de Josepho, que tuvieron 100 pliegos.
2 Persiles, 116 pliegos.
Epistolas de San Gerónimo, 76.
2 Devocionarios de Lucio, 52.
2 Monarchias, octava parte, de Zamora, 320 pliegos, que
suman todos 664 pliegos, que á dos maravedis, valen
treinta y nueve reales y dos maravedis . . . . 39-2.'

[3] *Persiles y Sigismunda* is promised in the Prologue to the *Novelas exemplares* (1613).

In the dedication of the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos* Cervantes speaks between jest and earnest of 'el gran Persiles'. In the dedication of the Second Part of *Don Quixote* he writes more seriously: 'con esto me despido, ofreciendo a V. Ex. los trabajos de Persilis, y Sigismunda, libro a quiẽ daré fin dentro de quatro meses, Deo volente, el qual ha de ser, o el mas malo, o el mejor que en nuestra lengua se haya compuesto, quiero dezir de los de entretenimiento, y digo, q̃ me arrepiento de auer dicho el mas malo, porque segun la opinion de mis amigos ha de llegar al estremo de bondad possible. . . .'

[5] The number is doubtful, for an edition dated 1617 and bearing Juan de Villarroel's name is believed to be an unauthorized reprint (Rius, *Bibliografía*, vol. I, pp. 161–2).

[6] One of these, with a *Tassa* dated July 4, 1617, was issued at Lisbon by Iorge Rodriguez.

XIV

Long before then Cervantes's family had become extinct. Of his sister Loisa we hear nothing after 1620. His granddaughter, Isabel Sanz del Aguila, was no longer living on January 31, 1622.[2] His niece Costanza died unmarried on September 22, 1624,[3] leaving to her cousin Isabel de Saavedra the balance still due from their uncle Rodrigo's estate.[4] Cervantes's widow, who resided in Madrid with her brother Francisco de Palacios, spent her last years in pious exercises, and died on October 31, 1626, naming Luis de Molina as one of her executors.[1] As might have been expected, Molina's marriage with Cervantes's daughter was not happy. Though Isabel de Saavedra throws out the humorous

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[1] No edition of the text, and no translation of it, appears to have been published between 1629 and 1719, and the existence of a 1629 edition may be thought doubtful.

[2] 'Por aver muerto la dha. doña ysabel sanz': these words occur in the document printed on p. 152, n. 2. This cannot be later than January 31, 1622, and may be earlier.

[3] See Juan Antonio Pellicer, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* in *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, Madrid, 1797–8), vol. I, p. ccxv:

'D.ª Constanza de Obando, soltera, murio en la calle del Amor de Dios en 22. de septiembre de 1624. años. Recibio los santos sacramentos de mano del licenciado Corbalan. No testó. Enterrola Luis de Molina, secretario de Carlos Strata: de fabrica [*ó sepultura*] 12. ducados.'

Pellicer refers to 'el Libro de Difuntos [de la parroquia de S. Sebastian de esta Corte] que empieza año de 1624. y acaba en el de 1628. fol. 41. b'.

[4] That Isabel de Saavedra inherited the money due from the Crown to her uncle Rodrigo is proved by the following clause in her last will, dated September 19, 1652 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*,

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vol. II, p. 336): 'Declaro que Su Magestad me debe quinientos escudos, o lo que pareciere conforme a las cartas de pago, de un sueldo del alferez Rodrigo de Cervantes Saabedra, mi tio, el qual se paga por el oficio de descargos; mando se haga la diligencia y se cobre.' The sums received at intervals are stated on p. 108, n. 2.

As Isabel de Saavedra was illegitimate, the money would not presumably have been paid to her as a matter of course. Some form of bequest must, one would think, have been made. Yet, as appears from the document quoted in the last note, Costanza died intestate. Perhaps proof was given of a verbal bequest. Another possibility will suggest itself to any one who has had occasion to study Isabel de Saavedra's character at close quarters. During Cervantes's lifetime she had passed herself off as Cervantes's legitimate daughter in a case where money was at stake. She was not incapable of doing the same thing again for the same reason.

[1] See Juan Antonio Pellicer, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* in *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Madrid, 1797–8), vol. I, pp. ccxv–ccxvi:

'D.ª Catalina de Salazar, viuda, murio en la calle de los Desamparados en 31. de otubre de 1626. años. Recibio los santos sacramentos de mano de Carlos Manrique: testó ante Alonso de Valencia, secretario: su fecha en 20. de este presente mes y año. Enterrose en el convento de las Trinitarias, y mandó le dixesen trescientas misas del alma: y fundó una Memoria. Albaceas Luis de Molina, secretario, y Francisco de Palacios, que vive en la misma casa.'

Pellicer refers to 'el Libro de Difuntos [de la parroquia de S. Sebastian de esta Corte] que empieza año de 1624. y acaba en el de 1628. fol. 213 b'.

The above-mentioned will, made on October 20, 1626, has not been found. It may be assumed that in it Cervantes's widow cancelled the directions as to her burial-place given in her will of June 16, 1610 (see p. 159, n. 1). She was not buried, as she had previously wished, near her father at Esquivias, but in the convent of the Trinitarian nuns at Madrid, where her husband had been buried some ten years before.

suggestion that her marriage was made in heaven,[1] it had been a *casamiento engañoso.* Husband and wife were never at one except in their law-suits with Urbina[2] and others.[3] Though unscrupulous where his interests were concerned, and though not lacking in the astute arts of a small attorney,[1] Molina proved incompetent in the conduct of his affairs, and lived from hand to mouth, pawning rings or jewels, and borrowing money from his own servant.[2] As he admitted in his will,[3] he was equally unsuccessful in his attempts to manage his wife's business. He died on January 23, 1632,[4]

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[1] The phrase occurs in Isabel de Saavedra's surreptitious will, dated June 4, 1631 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. I, p. 202): 'considerando que Dios nuestro señor fue servido de darmele en compañia. . . .'

[2] Urbina kept his claim alive by intermittent sworn statements that the house in the Red de San Luis belonged to him, and by acting as the actual proprietor. Thus he mortgaged the house on December 7, 1616 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 298–300), and confirmed this arrangement more fully on November 18, 1617 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 425, n. 1). On June 3, 1619, he authorized Pedro de la Plaza and Baltasar de Montoya to act for him in 'el pleito y causa que quiero que se ponga y que se ha puesto a Luis de Molina, como marido y conjunta persona de doña Isabel de Saavedra, vecinos desta dicha villa, sobre la propiedad de la casa en que los susodichos viven arriba de la iglesia parroquial de San Luis desta villa de Madrid, que como propia habida y adquirida para mi con mis propios dineros, de que tengo bastantes escripturas e instrumentos en mi poder de que darán razon los dichos mis procuradores e las presentarán con la peticion e demanda que sobre la propiedad de la dicha casa se ha de presentar en mi nombre con las demas peticiones y escripturas e probanzas que en el dicho pleito fueren necesarias hasta le fenecer y acabar en todas instancias e sacar carta executoria dél para tenerla en guarda de mi derecho y de mis herederos e sucesores' (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 303–4). Another document relating to a suit begun by Urbina against the Molinas in January 1622 has been already quoted (p. 152, n. 2).

In other ways the Molinas behaved as if they were the real owners of the house. They made structural alterations which were paid for in June 1620 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*, vol. II, pp. 309–10). On July 21, 1630, in a *carta de obligacion* Molina impudently declared 'vivo en mis casas a la Red de San Luis' (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 315).

In view of the dispute as to the ownership of the house, the clergy to whom certain charges on the house were payable pressed for immediate settlement. On June 22, 1621, Molina and his wife undertook to be responsible. In the body of the document (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 312) they originally described themselves 'como dueños y posehedores que somos de las dichas casas': the word 'dueños' is conveniently blotted.

[3] In her will of June 4, 1631 (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos*,

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vol. I, p. 203), Isabel de Saavedra mentions 'un pleito que tuvimos con un tio del dicho Luis de Molina.'

[1] Molina became *escribano real* in 1616, the year of Cervantes's death (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 304).

[2] See Molina's will dated December 25, 1631 (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 211–19): 'Item declaro que debo a Pedro Martinez, mi criado, ducientos reales que me prestó, de que le hize cedula, y por quenta dellos le tengo dados quarenta reales, mando se le pague lo demas.' A quantity of valuables was pawned to one Miguel de Castro.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 218: 'Item declaro para descargo de mi conciencia que la poca o mucha hacienda es de la dicha doña Isabel Saabedra, mi muger, y que antes la he consumido y gastado mucha parte de su dote, por lo qual la dexo y nombro por mi universal heredera. . . .'

[4] The following death-certificate is printed by Julio de Sigüenza in *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (15 de Abril de 1883), año XXVII, núm. XIV, p. 235:

'Parroquia de San Luis (Madrid).—Libro de Difuntos de S.r S. Luis.—Empecosse en 25 de Octubre de 1629 asta 1634. (En el fol. 171. vuelto hay la partida siguiente):—

'Luis de Molina marido de D.a Isabel de Saavedra murió oy biernes 23 de Henero de 1632, en la calle de SanLuis en frente de la de los Jardines en sus cassas: recibió los Santos Sacramentos que se los administró el Lic.do Gonzalez (?) teniente de San Luis tesante (sic—textó ante) Thomás Ramirez escribano rreal que tiene su oficio enfrente de la estampa de los naipes. Nombró por su albacea á la dicha su mujer y al p.e presentado Fr. Juan de Villafranca de la órden de la Merced, y al Lic.do Francisco Martinez Capellan en las monjas Trinitarias descalças. Mandó por su alma cinco missas de alma y las demás que su muger dispusiere. Mandose enterrar en S. basilio.'

dishonest and untruthful to the end, persisting in his assertion that the house in the Red de San Luis belonged to his wife. Yet it speaks well for his forbearance that he bore his wife no ill-will.[1] Shrewd and shrewish as she was, Isabel de Saavedra not unnaturally mistrusted her shifty husband, recorded his fecklessness in a surreptitious will, did not name him one of her executors, and left strict instructions that a female slave of hers should on no account pass into his possession.[2] As it happened, Isabel de Saavedra long survived Molina. An adept in driving a hard bargain, she appears to have lived in comfortable circumstances.[3] A

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[1] Besides leaving his wife all he had, Molina appointed her his executrix, and praised her as 'tan gran christiana' (Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos,* vol. I, p. 212). The phrase does not appear to be used ironically.

[2] Her first will, dated June 4, 1631, contains the following passages (*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 199–207): 'Item declaro que al tiempo y quando vine al matrimonio con el dicho Luis de Molina, mi marido, truxe a su poder como bienes dotales mios treynta y seys mill setecientos y quarenta y tres reales, los dos mill ducados en moneda de plata y lo demas en bienes muebles, y de la dicha dote hoy en dia está menoscabada la mitad y más, por donde me hallaba desobligada de hacer al dicho Luis de Molina, mi marido, participe de mis bienes muebles. . . .'

'Item mando que Gracia, mi esclava, no quede en poder del dicho Luis de Molina, mi marido, ni se le pueda dar en precio de los ducientos ducados que por clausula deste mi testamento mando se le den, y si se hiciere lo contrario, la dicha esclava quede libre, porque ansi conviene, por quanto la dicha esclava ha dicho que si sigue en poder del dicho Luis de Molina tiene de hacer algun mal recaudo, y por evitar esto es mi voluntad se cumpla lo arriba dicho.'

[3] She let Urbina's house in July 1648 at an annual rent of 1,150 *reales*; the tenant, after paying half a year's rent in advance, found that the house did not suit him; Isabel de Saavedra thereon consented

Tertiary of Saint Francis, she grew more and more devout as she became older, and played an ignoble part as informer to the Inquisition.[1] She died on September 20, 1652.[2] Her first will shows that,

to cancel the agreement on condition that the tenant should pay 220 *reales* for the six days that he had lived in the house, and that she should not refund the balance of 355 *reales* till she succeeded in reletting it (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 332–3).

Isabel de Saavedra's circumstances are indicated by the fact that she provided for a thousand masses to be offered for her intention and the repose of her soul (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 335). In 1643 she was able, without any inconvenience to herself, to lend 2,200 *reales* to Fernando Ortiz and his wife (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 326–8), and remain out of pocket for nine years (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 337).

[1] That she had joined the Tertiaries before June 4, 1631, appears from a phrase in her will of that date: 'Y quando la voluntad de Dios nuestro señor fuere de me llevar desta presente vida, la mia es [que] mi cuerpo sea amortaxado con el habito de mi padre serafico San Francisco' (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 200).

On March 30 and September 21, 1639, she gave evidence before the Inquisitor Juan Adam de la Parra against a crazy woman named Maria Bautista (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 319–25): on both occasions she gave her age as about forty, forgetting that she was at least fifty-four.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 343: 'En 20 del dicho mes y año (*Septiembre de 1652*), murio Doña Isabel de Sahabedra, viuda de Luis de Molina, calle de la Sarten, casas de Don Francisco Montalbo. Reciuio los santos sacramentos. Testó ante Pedro de Castro; testamentarios a el muy reberendo Padre Frai Angelino de la Questa, abad de San Martin, y a Doña Antonia de Gomara, que bibe en dicha casa de la difunta; mandó mill misas de alma y docientas de testamento; enterróse en San Martin.' Pérez Pastor refers to 'Arch. de S. Martín. Difuntos, libro 5º., fº. 345 vº.'

On October 7, 1652, Pedro de Castro declared (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 344) that he had seen Isabel de Saavedra lying dead on September 19 of that year: 'doy fee que en el dia diez y nueve de Setiembre pasado deste presente año de mil y seiscientos y cinquenta y dos vi muerta naturalmente a Doña Isabel de Saabedra, viuda de Luis de Molina, a quien doy fee conocí. . . .' It seems clear, however, that Castro's memory was at fault, for the certificate of Isabel de Saavedra's death in the parish record is preceded by other death-certificates dated during a severe illness in 1631, she had doubts as to the validity of her claim to the house in the Red de San Luis.[1] On her recovery her scruples evidently vanished, for she let the house, and took the rent for it; but they returned when she was struck down twenty-one years later. Her last will, signed the day before her death, contains a rambling and verbose clause which amounts to an admission that she and her husband had successfully conspired, in defiance of Cervantes's wishes, to cheat Urbina.[2]

September 20, 1652; he would appear to have been thinking of the day on which he drew up her will (September 19), which, by a slip of the pen, he dated September 9 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 449, nn. 1 and 2).

[1] This is deducible from the concluding words of the following clause: '. . . y asimismo le doy, cedo, renuncio y traspaso [al dicho Luis de Molina, mi marido,] qualquier derecho justo que yo tengo y me pertenesce a las cassas en que al presente vivo, ansi a la habitacion della como a las mexoras que en ellas se han hecho, y en caso que a ello no hay justicia es mi voluntad no lo intente' (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 202).

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 338–9: 'Item declaro que he poseido una casa a la Red de San Luis, en que al presente vive un criado de Su Magestad, en la qual dicha casa he gastado desde que la he tenido mas de seiscientos ducados en cosas precisas para poder vivir, como son: una cueva que me costó cien ducados, y empedrar y poner de ladrillo el pozo que se hundia, y aunque es de medianeria, gasté en ello cien ducados, y en levantar unas tapias que se caian y hice a mi costa cinco tapias en alto en que se me puso pleito, procurandolo impedir, y gasté en el dicho levantamiento cien ducados, y tambien levanté un aposento que estaba caido en el patio, en que gasté otros cinquenta, muy poco mas a menos, y en puertas nuevas, cerraduras y ventanas y en cerrar un corredor y reparar los desvanes y division de tabiques gasté lo demas, que uno y otro montó muy bien los dichos seiscientos ducados, antes mas que menos.—Y estos reparos fueron tan necesarios, que sin ellos me decian los maestros estaba a peligro de hundirse. Y aunque yo he tenido y tengo la dicha casa por mia propia en propiedad como cosa heredada de Doña Isabel Sanz del

Even so, her confession was grudging and incom-

Aguila y Saabedra, mi hixa, y de Don Diego Sanz del Aguila, mi primero marido, con todo eso porque el señor Miguel de Cerbantes Saavedra, mi padre, hizo una escritura en favor del secretario Juan de Urbina y sus herederos para que quedase aplicada a cierta capellania y lo demas contenido en dicha escritura o escrituras, y aunque estoy informada que tengo derecho para poder disponer de la dicha casa libremente, con todo eso no he querido ni quiero oponerme a lo que hizo el dicho mi padre, y ansi estoy convenida con Mateo de Carranza, como testamentario del dicho secretario Juan de Urbina, en que pagandoseme los dichos seiscientos ducados que se me deben por los reparos y mexoras que he hecho en la dicha casa, y más catorce mil reales en que el dicho Luis de Molina, mi marido, alcanzó al dicho Juan de Urbina en la compañia que tuvieron del arrendamiento de unas herrerias, como el dicho mi marido, de quien soy heredera, lo declaró en el testamento que hizo, debaxo de cuya dispusicion murió, sobre que ha habido pleito y está pendiente en el oficio que fue de Fulano Romero, escribano de provincia, se queda la dicha casa para la dispusicion que della tomaron los dichos Miguel de Cerbantes, mi padre, y secretario Juan de Urbina, y ansi lo quiero y mando, y haciendoseme el dicho pagamento me desisto de qualquier derecho y accion que tengo y me pertenece a dicha casa, y no de otra manera.'

Romero's Christian name, which the testatrix was unable to recall, was Martin. He is mentioned in Molina's will (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 213) as possessing certain receipts which would prove that Urbina owed Molina over eighteen thousand *reales* in connexion with the ironworks at Cañizares (see p. 169, n. 3). 'Item declaro que yo tuve compañia quatro u cinco años con el secretario Juan de Urbina en raçon de una herreria que está en Cañiçares, tierra de Cuenca, y nunca se ajustaron las quentas por estar ausente siempre el dicho Juan de Urbina, y a mi parecer seré acreedor a sus bienes en mas de diez y ocho mill reales conforme a las cartas de pago y demas papeles y recaudos que están presentados en el oficio de Martin Romero, escribano de provincia, por mandado de los señores del Consejo, mando se siga el pleito y se cobre lo que se debiere de los bienes y hazienda del dicho secretario Urbina.'

In the next clause of his will Molina makes a similar allegation respecting his uncle, the Licentiate Luis de Molina, priest of the church of San Miguel at Cuenca. He accuses his uncle of appropriating money, of refusing to settle accounts, and of hiding the ledgers, so as to avoid paying a sum of over twenty thousand *reales* due to his plete, and the evil which she did lived after her.[1]

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nephew. It is impossible to say what amount of truth there is in these statements. It is, however, noticeable that while Molina claimed 'over eighteen thousand *reales*' from Urbina's estate on December 25, 1631, his wife did not put the amount higher than 'over fourteen thousand *reales*' in 1652.

[1] On October 9, 1652, Urbina's executor, Mateo de Carranza, took steps to obtain possession of the house in the Red de San Luis (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 347). On October 11, the *alguaciles* were instructed to hand it over to him. On October 14, 1652, Carranza made the application to the court:

'Madrid, 14 Octubre, 1652.

'Mateo de Carranza, secretario de S.M. y de la Reyna Nuestra Señora, digo que Juan de Urbina, difunto, secretario que fue de S.M., tenía una casa suya propia en la Red de S. Luis, de que tenía hecha donacion a Doña Isabel de Saavedra Cervantes, para que gozase el usufructo de ella por los dias de su vida y que despues volviese a sus herederos. Y porque la susodicha falleció a diez y nueve de Setiembre pasado de este presente año (como consta del testimonio de escribano de que hago presentacion), y yo tengo poder de los dichos herederos para administrar, vender o enagenar todos los bienes, asi muebles como raices, que quedaron por fin y muerte del dicho secretario Juan de Urbina, y siendo la dicha casa uno de ellos, y tocandole a los dichos herederos por muerte de la dicha Doña Isabel de Saavedra.—Pido y suplico a v.m. mande que se me dé posesion de la dicha casa en virtud del dicho poder, de que asi mismo hago presentacion, para administrarla, venderla o disponer de ella en nombre de los dichos herederos, que para que conste que lo son presento la clausula del testamento del dicho Juan de Urbina, en que los instituyó. Pido justicia, etc.

'=Otrosi digo que por pagar la dicha casa, de incomoda particion y de censo perpetuo que tiene, diez y nueve ducados cado año, luego que falleció el dicho secretario Juan de Urbina, puso pleito a sus testamentarios la dicha Doña Isabel de Saavedra, para que le fundasen censo de la dicha cantidad, como se le fundaron por haber sido condenados a ello y declarado que debia gozar el dicho usufructo sin obligacion de pagar las dichas cargas; el qual dicho censo le fundaron Urban de Ortega y Manuela Perez, su muger, de trescientos y ochenta ducados de principal, que hacen de renta en cada un año los dichos diez y nueve ducados, como todo consta del testimonio que presento.—Y por que el dicho censo toca y pertenece a los dichos herederos, pido y suplico a v.m. mande se notifique a los dichos Urban de Ortega, o a los que hubieren sucedido en la obligacion de la paga de él, reconozcan a los dichos herederos y a mi en su nombre por dueños del dicho censo y renta de él para acudirles con ella desde el dia de la muerte de la dicha Doña Isabel de Saavedra en adelante, mientras no le redimieren. Pido justicia, etc.—Matheo de Carranza.' (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 345–7.)

On the same date as this document was drawn up (October 14, 1652) the *alguacil* Juan de Legarda made over the house—'sin perjuicio de tercero'—to Carranza on behalf of Urbina's heirs, and at the same time the occupant of the house was directed to make his future payments to Carranza.

The circumstances are not very clear, but what seems to have happened was this. Isabel de Saavedra withdrew her claim to the house in the Red de San Luis on condition that she was repaid the money she had spent—six hundred *ducados*—on improving and keeping up the house, in addition to fourteen thousand *reales* alleged to be due to her late husband by Urbina on account of the ironworks at Cañizares. Pérez Pastor is of opinion (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 428) that she came to this agreement with Carranza before 1648 : the grounds for this opinion are not stated. But the point is unimportant, for the arrangement was admittedly not put into effect till October 14, 1652, after Isabel de Saavedra's death. It did not prove to be a satisfactory solution. Urbina's heirs, who lived in Italy, did not comply with the conditions ; the six hundred *ducados* and the fourteen thousand *reales* were not paid ; the house was accordingly adjudged to Isabel de Saavedra's niece, Angela Benita Gasi, and was sold in 1666.

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